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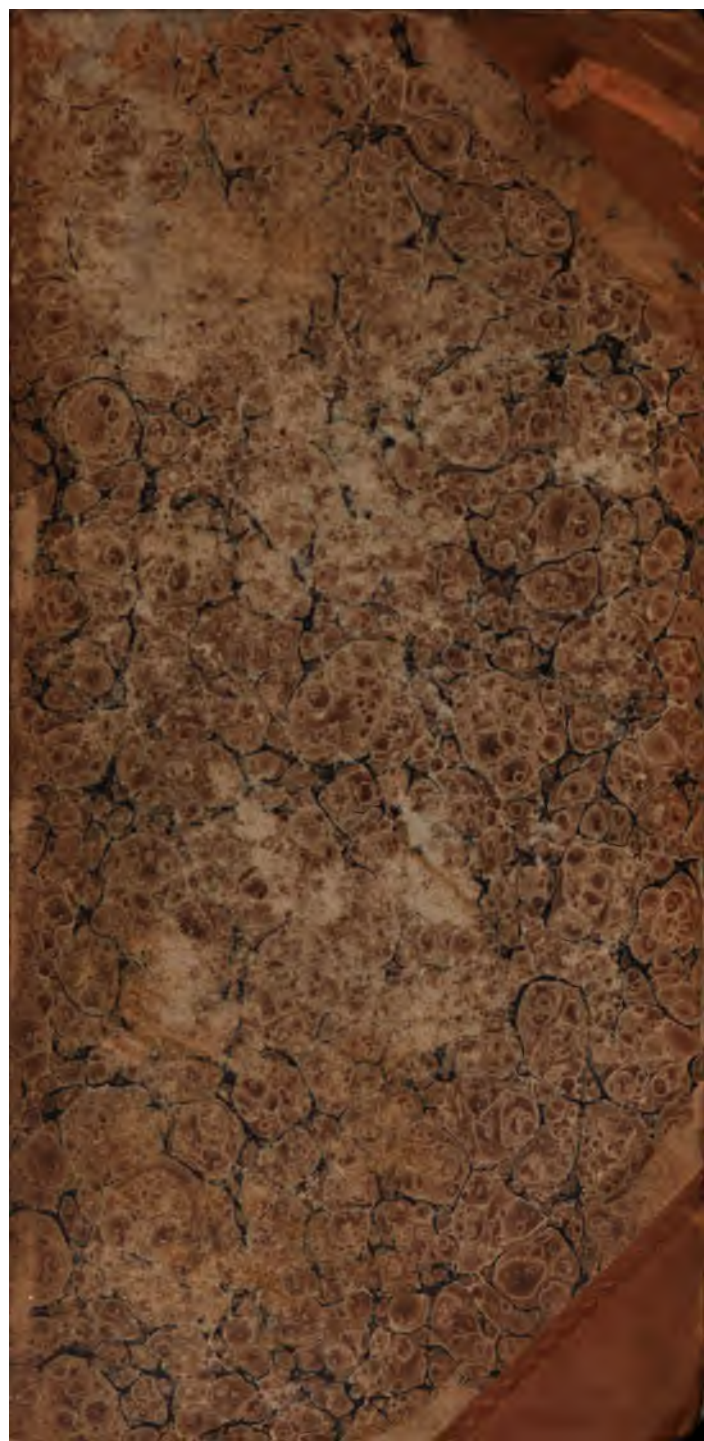
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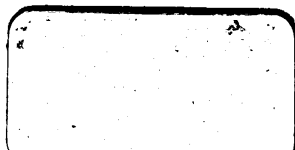


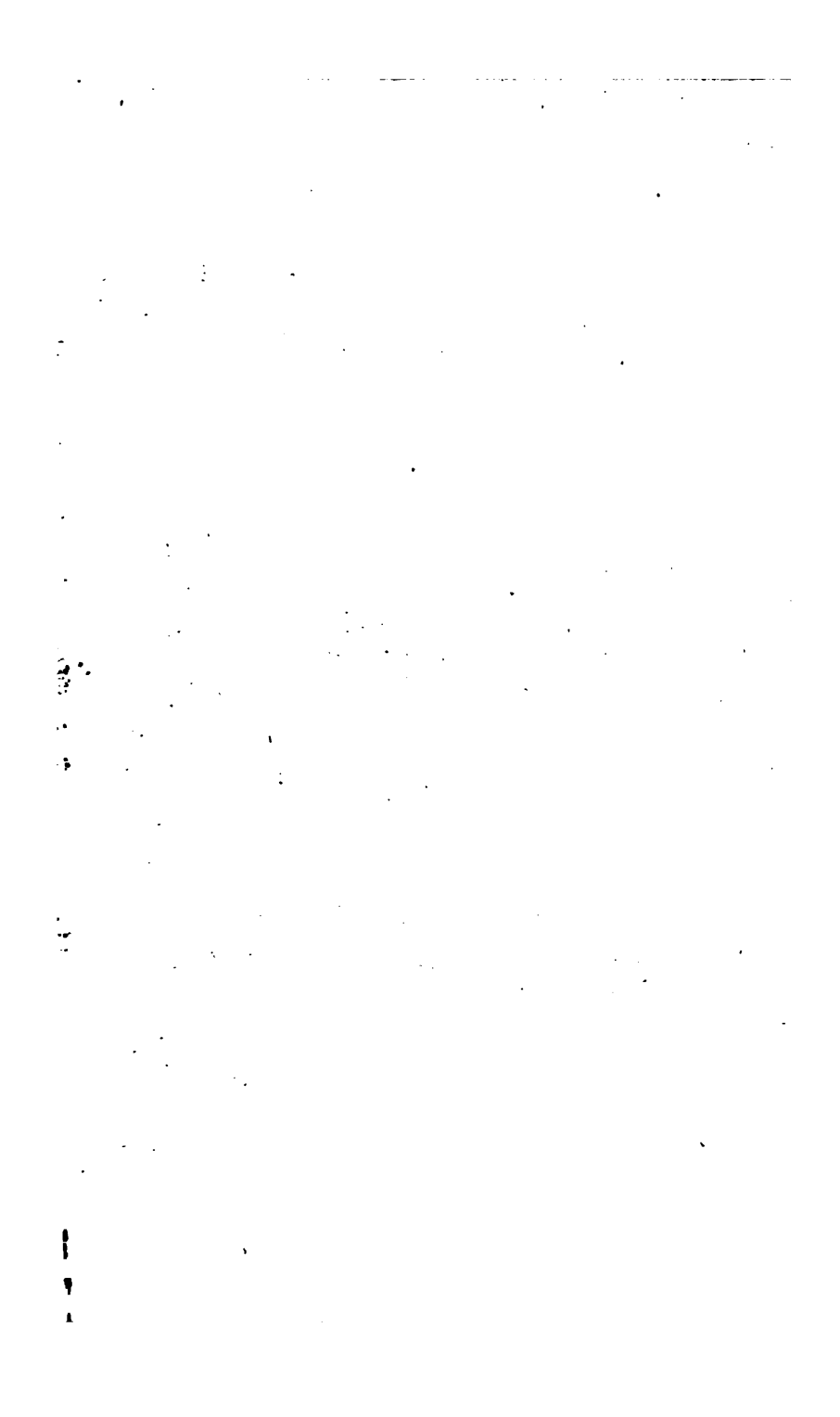
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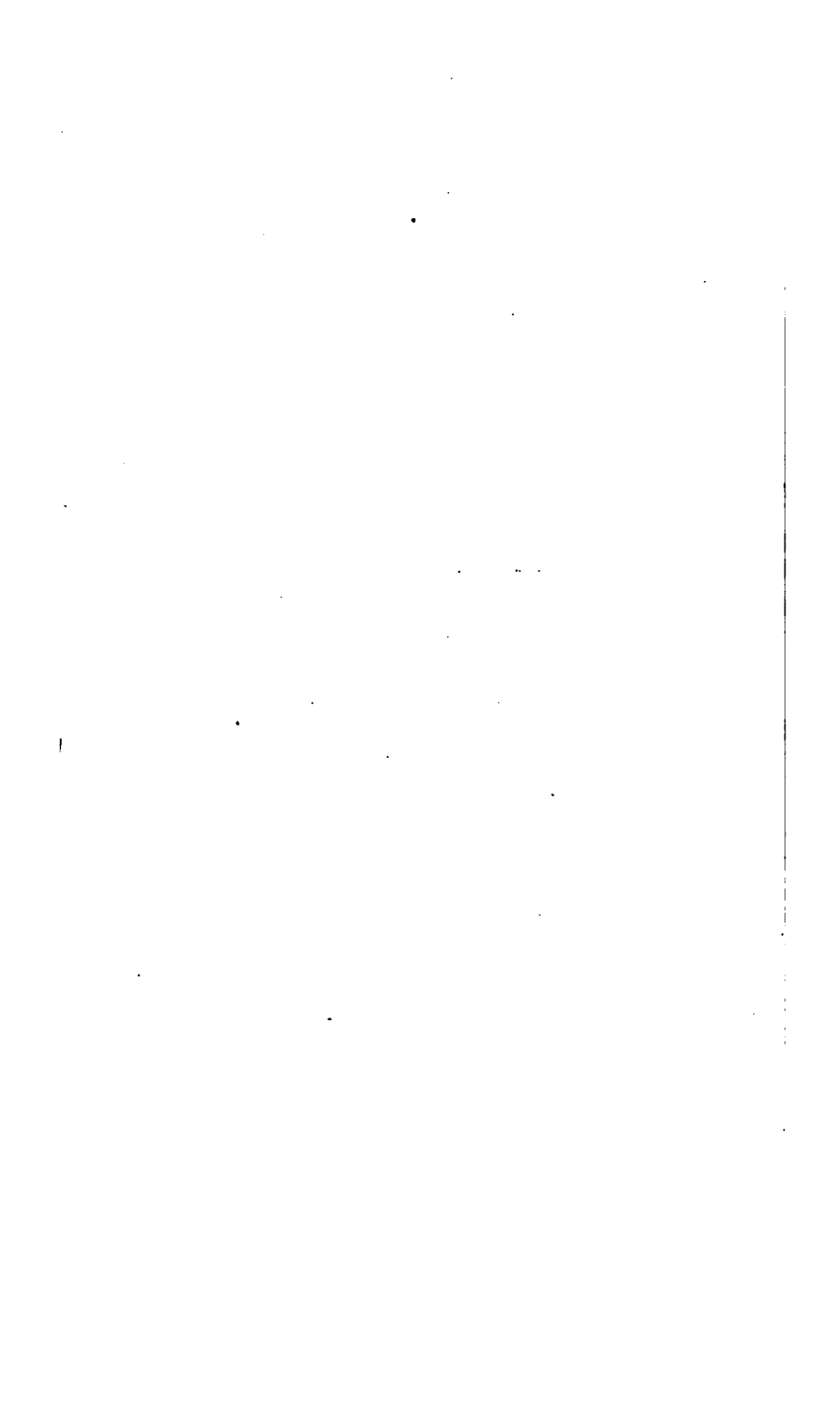
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14. 1828.

HISTORY

OF THE

Reformation

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



ABRIDGED FROM HIS LARGER WORK

BY

HENRY SOAMES, M.A.

RECTOR OF SHELLEY, IN ESSEX.

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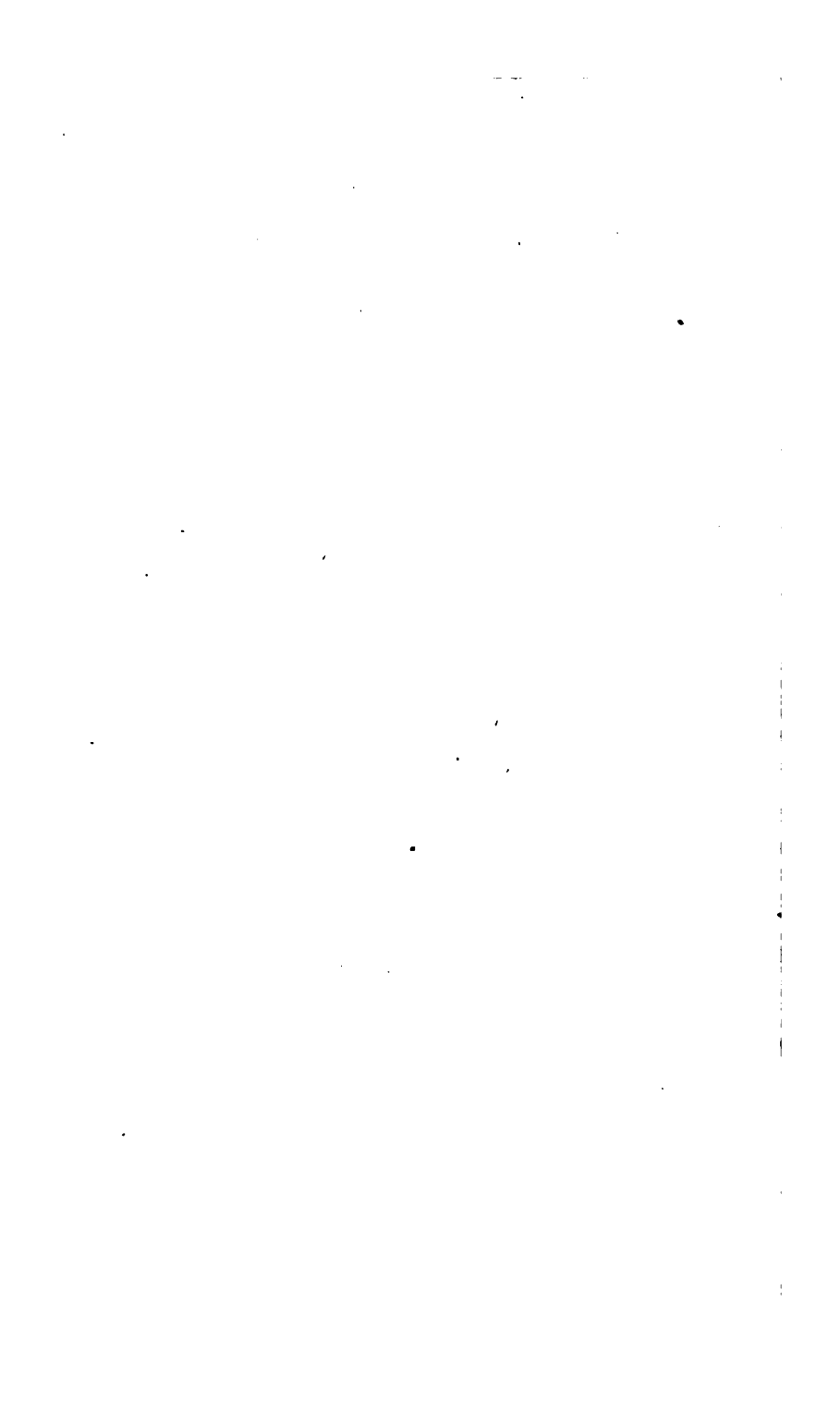
ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.

P R E F A C E.

THERE is no portion of English history so important as that which relates to the Reformation. Hence an acquaintance with it is indispensable to inhabitants of these islands who desire to form just opinions upon the national institutions. At the present time, such information is more than usually needed ; because Romanists are making great exertions to restore the lost ascendancy of their sect. As one step towards the attainment of this object, they have industriously revived various calumnies and misrepresentations by which opponents of a former day sought to render the Reformers odious and contemptible. It is, therefore, necessary to lay the truth anew before the world, both as a protection to the unwary against the snares of artful

sophistry, and as a measure of justice to the memories of certain remarkable men, whose labours to serve their country were in the highest degree disinterested, self-devoted, and beneficial. Fully to appreciate the characters of those who reformed the Church of England, and adequately to comprehend the transactions which drew them into notice, are advantages without the reach of such persons as do not consult works of considerable length. But readers whose enquiries are restrained within narrower bounds may acquire a reasonable degree of correct information as to the most conspicuous of these characters and affairs. It is for the use of such readers that this abridgement has been compiled. It is hoped, that the young, and also elder persons who have not opportunities of reading larger works, may find these pages useful in leading them to an acquaintance with the Reformation. Nothing has been attempted beyond a display of leading characters and incidents. Many persons and facts, of great, but of secondary importance, have been wholly omitted. This appeared

necessary, as well for placing principal matters in a light sufficiently clear, as for preserving the interest of the narrative. Of theological questions, also, very little notice has been taken ; such matters appearing unsuited to young readers, and requiring, besides, a degree of room which this undertaking would not admit. Nor, again, have any authorities been cited in this volume. Any readers who may desire to see the grounds upon which the several statements rest, must be referred to the Author's larger work. It will there be found, that he has been careful to name the quarters from which he has drawn his information ; that in most cases, respectable authorities, contemporary with the circumstances detailed, have supplied this information ; and that adverse testimony, when any such has come to his knowledge, has been duly examined.



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INTRODUCTION:

The early Bishops of Rome—Rise and Decline of the Papal Power—The Waldenses—The Albigenses—Wickliffe—Huss and Jerome of Prague—Papal Disorders—Indulgences—Excommunication of Luther—His Patmos—The PROTEST—Zwingli.

THE Christian religion had not long been preached before it took root in the mighty city of Rome. Vainly did heathen emperors endeavour, by means of persecution, to trample it under foot. All their guilty rage only served to shew the steadiness of those who held the new faith, and thus to make them every day more esteemed. Hence, 'even before the Roman government embraced the Gospel, the bishops of the capital had gained great power and wealth. When the Emperor Constantine, in the beginning of the fourth century, became a Christian, these prelates were necessarily raised still higher in importance. They soon became the greatest men in Rome; for the court, with of course the nobility in its train, was removed to the new city of Con-

stantinople, and it never came back any more to the old capital. At length barbarian invaders overran Italy; but little besides Rome being left there to the emperors. The conquerors would have taken this famous city also had not its bishops obtained help from France. Charles the Great, or Charlemagne, as he is generally called, was the principal deliverer whom these prelates brought over the Alps to their aid; and in recompence for his services, that celebrated king of France was acknowledged as their emperor by the Romans, on Christmas-day, in the year 800. As Charlemagne usually lived at a great distance from Rome, he entrusted the government of that city to its bishops, who were to act under the authority of himself and his successors. At no great length of time after his death, his empire fell to pieces, and the Roman bishops contrived to make themselves independent sovereigns.

Europe was then very barbarous and ignorant: the governments were unsettled, and the people still clung to the heathen superstitions which their forefathers had professed to give up. The Roman bishops, who came at last to be alone called Popes, whereas all bishops were formerly so called, took advantage of these circumstances. They meddled in politics upon every opportunity, and they indulged the superstitious crowd with images in churches, and with other seductive usages which had been popular in Pagan times. Hence these

artful prelates gained by degrees a very strong hold over the minds of men. But, in the meantime, the pure religion of holy Scripture was becoming every day less understood. At length, the different countries of the West growing more settled, knowledge happily spread itself abroad. Its progress was powerfully aided by the discovery of printing, about the year 1450, by which books were made much more cheap and plentiful than they had ever been before. For a long time, even clergymen, and others acquainted with learning, had been very little used to read the Bible, or the best books in Greek and Latin. But after printing was once in full operation, both Scripture and other works containing sound sense and good information, came ordinarily into the hands of reading men. People's eyes were thus opened to see, that the religion in which their fathers had brought them up could not be proved from the New Testament, and hence a general opinion gained ground, that the Church urgently needed reformation.

Many other causes had prepared the minds of men for entertaining this belief. The darkest and most unhappy period after the Roman empire fell, was the tenth century. So miserable, ignorant, and wicked were people generally during these hundred years, that the few persons of good information whom Europe contained were inclined to believe, that the reign of Antichrist and the end of the world were at hand. In this wretched age

tries from the persecution which raged in their own. Some of them came over into England, thus preparing the way for Wickliffe. This famous divine was reader in theology at Oxford, and one of the best scholars of his time. He came into general notice about the year 1370, in the reign of Edward III. He was led to examine narrowly the Romish religion for the purpose of confuting the friars, then extremely active in filling people's minds with superstition, and very offensive to all who were better informed as to religion. Wickliffe diligently studied the Bible in order to judge how far these men might be in the right. He soon saw that they were merely deceiving the people, and he then laboured incessantly to spread among his countrymen a knowledge of the truth. It was an arduous, but a very successful undertaking. Men of all ranks embraced his opinions. Even John of Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, became his disciple and protector. Being thus powerfully defended, he was allowed to die in peace, upon his rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. His principles, however, outlived him. They were, indeed, of immortal mould, and no exertions of their enemies availed to root them out from the public mind. Wickliffe's voice long continued to sound in England from his numerous writings; especially from his translation of the Bible. His disciples were known as Lollards, and a barbarous law, passed under Henry IV. rendered them liable to be burnt

alive. But they nobly braved these cruelties, and thus Protestant opinions lurked among Englishmen from Wickliffe's death until the Reformation.

The benefit of Wickliffe's labours was not confined to his native land. His principles had a soil provided for them in Bohemia; a colony of Waldenses having settled in that country some centuries before, and its inhabitants generally being better inclined towards the Greek church, which had originally converted their forefathers, than to the Church of Rome. England became particularly connected with Bohemia, by means of a marriage which Richard II. formed with one of her princesses. Wickliffe's books were thus quickly carried over among the Bohemians, and were most favourably received there. Especially John Huss, a clergyman famed for his learning, his goodness, and his abilities in the pulpit, entered heartily into the English Reformer's views. As Huss rapidly formed among his countrymen a powerful party dissatisfied with Romanism, the council of Constance, which met in 1414, was anxious to suppress his opinions. The pious Bohemian was, accordingly, lured to Constance, under a safe-conduct from the Emperor Sigismund. But this imperial promise proved nothing but a snare. The council of Constance, having gotten Huss into its possession, shamefully burnt him alive as a heretic. Within a year after this deed of perfidious cruelty, Jerome of Prague, a religious layman, who had come to Prague merely

for the sake of keeping up the spirits of his friend, Huss, was like him seized and burnt. Besides committing these atrocious crimes, the council of Constance, ordered the bones of Wickliffe to be dug from the grave and burnt. This pitiful revenge was also carried into effect, but Wickliffe's principles, notwithstanding, maintained their ground. In Bohemia, indeed, the disciples of Huss asserted by the sword their determination to maintain that doctrine for which their revered countrymen had been contented to shed their blood.

The Protestant Church, of which a remnant had ever continued in Europe during even the worst seasons of spiritual blindness, and to which Wickliffe had given new vigour, was farther advantaged by gross disorders in the papacy. Two, and even three persons at the same time laid claim to the office of Pope, supporting their pretensions by various unworthy means, and being acknowledged as heads of the Church by some nations, but denied that character by others. These disgraceful contentions naturally filled all Europe with disgust. Nor when at length the papacy fell to a single claimant, did it gain much respectability; several insignificant persons holding it one after the other. These appointments were, however, far better than that of Roderic Borgia, at the close of the fifteenth century. For this depraved Pope, who called himself Alexander VI. was given up to profligacy of every kind, being only exceeded in wickedness by

Cæsar Borgia, one of his illegitimate children. It was a practice with both father and son to poison such persons as they desired to remove, and there is reason to believe that this horrid treachery was at length justly visited upon both their heads. They went one summer's evening to sup in a garden in Rome; whence Alexander was brought home dead, and Cæsar in a most dangerous condition. Both of them had accidentally partaken, it seems, of poisoned wine prepared for some other person in the company. Within a few days of Alexander's death, Julius II. was elected Pope. He was also somewhat irregular in private life; and as head of the Church he proved a very fire-brand, filling all Italy with wars and contentions. His successor was Leo X. a man of reputable morals, but grievously ignorant of religion, and smitten with an extreme love for show, music, indolence, jesting, and buffoonery. Under Leo a vent was found for the contempt which a long course of improper conduct in the Popes had brought upon their station.

A notion was current among the heathens of old, that when the soul of man leaves the body, it passes through fire, or some other tormenting substance, for the purpose of being cleansed from such pollutions as it had contracted upon earth. After a time this notion was adopted in the Roman Church; fire alone being named as the future cleanser of the soul, and the place in which it was to undergo

this painful purification being called purgatory. Men, however, it was taught, might escape some of the torments in store for them after death, by fasting, abstaining from certain meats, and other mortifications, while in the body. Over all these sufferings, both in the world and in purgatory, the Popes claimed a controlling power; it being, at their option, according to the Romish creed, to relieve such persons as they may choose not only from the necessity of enduring penances while alive, but also from remaining the regular time amidst cleansing fires when dead. Papal exemptions from these penalties are called indulgences, and they were commonly sold for money. When Leo was pope, his expensive habits, and the building of St. Peter's, at Rome, plunged him into pecuniary difficulties, and he determined upon the sale of indulgences for his relief. Tetzal, a profligate Dominican friar, was the principal agent in Germany for the disposal of these papal exemptions, and as he was an impudent, bustling man, he sold vast numbers of them among the ignorant and worthless. Persons of good information and morality were shocked at Tetzal's success; for they looked upon the sale of indulgences as little else than a disreputable scheme to enrich the Pope at the expense of public morals. This view was taken among others by Martin Luther, who now came forward to surprise the world. He was a Saxon of humble birth, who shewed early in life an uncom-

mon fondness for learning, and was in consequence brought up to the law. When about to enter upon that profession, he was walking out one day with a young friend, whom a flash of lightning suddenly laid breathless at his feet. The vanity of human hopes was by this mournful accident impressed so forcibly upon Luther's mind, that he determined immediately to renounce the world, and become a friar. Soon after he had carried this design into execution, he found a Bible in the library of his monastery. With eager attention he read the sacred book, and his mind was quickly filled with notions of religion, to which hitherto he had been a stranger. He now received an invitation to fill the office of professor in the University of Wittemberg; and he soon acquired in that place a very high reputation, not only as an instructor of youth, but also as a preacher. While thus deservedly celebrated, it being the year 1517, Tetzel came into the neighborhood to sell indulgences. Among his customers were some of Luther's congregation, who, upon the strength of their purchase, went to their pastor, confessed iniquities of no common atrocity; and demanded absolution. Luther refused, and being threatened by Tetzel in consequence, he applied himself with his habitual industry to examine the nature of indulgences. Taking Scripture for his guide, he soon became convinced that Popes have no farther power over the penalties of sin than merely to excuse men from worldly penances im-

posed by Church authority. Having come to this conclusion, he thundered from the pulpit irresistible invectives against the ruinous folly of trusting to these papal pardons for an escape from any penalty to which the soul is liable after its release from the body. He published, besides, in writing, thirty-five propositions against the received doctrine of indulgences, with a declaration, that he would appear on a given day to maintain publicly his opinions as to this matter. The appointed day arrived, and Luther was in readiness to dispute; but no man came forward as an opponent.

At Rome the news of Luther's attack upon indulgences was for a long time wholly disregarded. Leo seems to have indolently considered it as nothing more than the first step in one of those ridiculous disputes by which the friars of rival orders were used to relieve the dulness incident to their way of life. But Germany was soon agitated through her whole extent by the explosion which had taken place at Wittemberg. Most men of liberal minds and good information rejoiced at the exposure of a system, by which the people were both injured in their morals, and duped of their money. At length Luther was attacked in turn. Tetzel's name was affixed to the first publication which appeared against him. Abler men then put forth books upon the same subject. Luther, however, was not long in answering all that his adversaries alleged; and thus the contention, instead of abat-

ing, became more spirited every day. The Pope was therefore, in the end, obliged to rouse himself, and accordingly he cited Luther to Rome. The university of Wittemberg, however, petitioned against this citation, and the Elector of Saxony backed the petition. Hence Luther was excused from a journey into Italy, and merely desired to appear at Augsburg, before Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate. Cajetan was full of his dignity, and proud of his learning; which was considerable. At first, accordingly, he haughtily desired Luther to retract his opinions. The Saxon firmly told him, that he must first be convinced of their unsoundness. The Cardinal then proceeded to argue with him, but he soon found, that he had met with one who was more than his match. This attempt to retrieve the character of indulgences having thus wholly failed, Leo next issued a bull, cautiously worded, in which the virtues of these pardons were solemnly declared. Luther noticed this bull by saying, that Popes, like all other men, were fallible, and by appealing from the reigning pontiff to the next general council. An attempt was now made by the Roman court to raise a prejudice against Luther in the mind of his sovereign, the Elector of Saxony. But Frederic the Wise, as that prince was justly called, turned a deaf ear to Leo's messenger. These repeated disappointments entirely exhausted the Pope's patience, and accordingly, on the 15th of June, 1520, he thun-

dered a bull of excommunication against the Saxon Reformer, ordering, among other things, that his writings should be burnt. Luther quickly published an answer to this bull, which he called "The execrable Bull of Antichrist," he appealed again from the Pope to a general council, he printed a work, entitled "The Babylonish Captivity," attacking Romanism in many new points, and, finally, he made a bonfire under the walls of Wittemberg, into which, before a crowd of applauding spectators, he formally cast the papal canon-law, and the bull issued against himself.

After this decisive step Luther's party became more numerous every day. This growing disaffection to the Roman Church alarmed the Emperor Charles V. and accordingly he made an attempt to stem the torrent, by summoning the Saxon Reformer before him, at the diet of Worms, in 1521. Anxious friends advised Luther to disregard this summons, reminding him that imperial promises were not always worthy of reliance, as Huss and Jerome had fatally proved at Constance. But he courageously replied, "I should certainly go to Worms, did I even know that I must encounter as many devils in the place as there are tiles upon the houses." When arrived at the end of his journey, he found himself an object of general curiosity. The crowds that pressed forward to gain a sight of him were greater than even those which had been attracted by the pageantry of Charles's entry into

Worms; and he daily received visits from individuals of the highest rank. His behaviour was far from unworthy of such honours; being respectful, firm, and dignified. But he refused to retract any thing. Notwithstanding, he was allowed to depart unmolested. After he was gone, however, an edict was published, treating him as an excommunicated criminal, and forbidding any one to harbour him after the time of his safe-conduct should expire. His friends thus eluded this severity. At an unfrequented part of the road, as he was journeying homewards, a party of horsemen in masks rushed out of a wood, seized him, and hurried him away to Wartburg, an ancient castle which crowned the lofty summit of a neighbouring hill. In this retreat, which he called his Patmos, Luther spent from nine to ten months: during which time, his name being kept a secret, he was known to the people about the castle by the familiar appellation of *Yunker George*. In this concealment he was freely supplied with every thing needful, both for his personal comfort, and for the prosecution of his studies. He was thus enabled not only to write some controversial pieces, but also to make a great progress in translating the Bible into German: a work which in the end rendered his labours to reform his country's religion immoveably secure.

On leaving Wartburg, Luther was found to have lost none of his boldness and activity as a teacher of sound religion. Many political circum-

stances happily rendered the German princes either favourable or indifferent to his exertions. Hence the diet of Spire, in 1526, unanimously agreed, that the several potentates and cities of Germany should administer ecclesiastical affairs within their respective territories, until the meeting of a general or a national council, in such a manner as to be able to answer for their conduct before God and the Emperor. This decree being tantamount to a formal toleration of Luther's opinions, gave great offence to the papal party, and accordingly a favourable opportunity occurring, it was retracted by the Emperor's influence, at another diet holden at Spire, in the year 1529. The diet now, however, was not unanimous. Six princes and fourteen imperial cities *protested* against the intolerance of the majority. The members of this minority soon gained the name of PROTESTANTS, henceforth the honourable designation of all such western Christians as renounce the corruptions of papal Rome. Among the *protesting* princes Englishmen generally learn with honest pride, was an ancestor of their reigning monarch. Ernest, the Confessor, Duke of Brunswick Luneburg, was educated in the university of Wittemberg, where he attended the lectures of Luther, and where his generous spirit readily imbibed the enlightened views of that great Reformer. Through life, accordingly, this able and religious prince was ever on the watch to establish and defend those principles, truly infallible, be-

cause written by the finger of inspiration, which formed the glory of his administration, the rock of his immortal hopes. William, his youngest son, was grandfather to Ernest Augustus, who, marrying the daughter of Frederick, King of Bohemia; and Elector Palatine, became the father of King George the First; the progenitor of a race of sovereigns under whose mild and judicious rule, Britain has not only stood nobly conspicuous, as the great bulwark of Scriptural Christianity, but also as the seat of a nation, which for virtue, wealth, and intellectual eminence, has hitherto found no equal.

While Luther was using in Saxony the weapons furnished by Scripture, solid learning, and sound sense, to shake the mighty usurpation of papal Rome, another divine, wholly unconnected with him, was similarly engaged in Switzerland. Ulric Zuingle, having made himself an excellent scholar in his youth, became an admired preacher on attaining ripeness of age. In preparing for the pulpit, he saw more clearly every day, that he ought to seek his information chiefly from the Bible. In 1516, the year before that in which Luther began his glorious opposition to popery, Zuingle had ceased to preach any doctrine incapable of proof from Scripture. His hearers were equally astonished and delighted, being now persuaded that Christianity, truly understood, was very far from being that dark, idolatrous, and superstitious creed which they had been taught under

its name. Happily the people were thus enlightened when a Milanese friar came among them with a cargo of indulgences. This impious and impudent trafficker endeavoured to recommend his wretched wares, by professing himself able to sell pardons even for crimes of the deepest dye. "At my nod," he declared, "a tortured soul will instantly wing its way beyond the bounds of purgatory." By such infamous representations many of the more ignorant Swiss were duped out of their hard-earned money. Zuingle strained every nerve to stem this torrent of iniquity and folly. Nor did he fail of considerable success: the vile indulgence-dealer being received in some places with indignant contempt. Zuingle, however, was so disgusted with the Pope's conduct in thus pillaging and corrupting ignorant people, that he set himself upon a diligent examination of the Romish religion in all its parts. He soon saw, that it rests upon a foundation of sand, and he found very little difficulty in persuading the people of Zurich, where he lived, wholly to give up the vain traditions of Romanism, and to suffer nothing in their churches which will not bear to be fairly confronted with Scripture.

THE
HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Conversion of England—The Lollards—Henry VIII.—Catharine of Aragon—Anne Boleyn—The Divorce—Wolsey—Cromwell—The Royal Supremacy admitted in Convocation—Cranmer—Gardiner—Marriage of Anne Boleyn—Acts of Parliament against the Papal Authority—Translations of the Bible.

WITHIN a very few years of our Lord's crucifixion, his holy religion appears happily to have found its way into Britain. Exactly who were the messengers that brought these glad tidings, or whence they came, are points far from easy to ascertain. Papal writers assert, that the first Christian missionaries who landed upon British ground were sent from Rome. This assertion, however, is nei-

ther supported by conclusive evidence, nor can it be satisfactorily reconciled with certain known facts. The ancient British Church was overthrown in England, in the fifth century, by the heathen Saxons who conquered the country. About one hundred and fifty years afterwards, Gregóry I. Bishop of Rome, endeavoured to convert these idolaters by sending among them Austin, a Roman monk, and some other missionaries. Ethelbert, the king of Kent, then more powerful than any other petty sovereign in England, had married Bertha, a Christian princess from France, and it was by her means that the preachers of evangelical truth were favourably received in Kent. Ethelbert soon became their disciple, an example which his people followed, and Austin then resolved upon attempting to convert the other Saxon kingdoms. Wales, Cornwall, Scotland, and Ireland, were already Christian, the Saxons never having overrun those countries. Austin very sensibly desired assistance from them in his arduous enterprise. But the native British Christians kept Easter at a different time from their brethren at Rome, differed from them also in many other usages, and held no intercourse with the Roman bishop. These facts render it probable that Britain was not converted from Rome, and they render it certain, that the native Christians knew nothing of a dependence upon the Pope. Now Austin came furnished with an authority from Gregory to act as archbishop over all

the British isles, and he would fain have reduced every congregation in them to a strict conformity with the Roman Church. This encroaching spirit naturally disgusted the British bishops, who refused to give up their country's usages, to place themselves under Austin, as their archbishop, or to act at all with the foreigners, looking upon them as open to just suspicion from the worldliness joined with their zeal. Austin's mission proved, however, advantageous to the Saxons generally. For his powerful friend, Ethelbert, enabled the Roman preachers to make their way into most parts of England. It is true, that these foreigners were seldom so fortunate as to establish themselves among the people to whom they went, but their preaching had the effect of lessening Saxon prejudices against Christianity. This was a great advantage to the good cause; which the native clergy were active in improving. Missionaries, from Scotland chiefly, soon began to labour among their southern neighbours, and happily with considerable success. These ministers of British birth converted in a few years the bulk of the heathen Saxons, and moreover, established churches among them. After a short time the Kentish party, which was connected with Rome, obtained possession of these churches; and at length the whole island entered into communication with the Pope; respecting him as the most dignified bishop of Western Europe. He was not, however, admitted to the

exercise of any authority over the Anglo-Saxons. Nor did William the Conqueror, although he brought over into England, upon his invasion, a banner consecrated by the Pope, and although he made a shew of acting upon one remarkable occasion, under papal advice, ever surrender to the Roman see, even in appearance only, the privileges of his crown. On the contrary, when he called over the Pope's legates, to give him counsel, as he pretended, respecting the Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Anglo-Saxon dignitaries whom he found it convenient to remove, he took the lead himself in the proceedings, and caused every thing to be done by his own authority. His successors generally followed his example, refusing to admit that the Popes were entitled to any power within their dominions. But whenever a prince usurped the throne, or was weak from any other cause, the Roman bishops, being always upon the watch, and being excellently served by their creatures, the monks, who in time overran the country, contrived to gain some advantage for their see. Every such encroachment was, however, manifestly an inroad upon the constitution; and acts of Parliament, accordingly, passed one after the other, while Romanism was the national religion, proved that Englishmen had, notwithstanding, never wholly lost sight of their independence in Church, as well as in State.

Nevertheless, the people generally seem to have

made little difficulty in receiving every principle and usage which came recommended to them from Rome, until Wickliffe arose to shew them that they had thus unwittingly admitted into their religion many things at variance with the Bible. After that great Reformer's appearance, the Lollards were ever a numerous body among Englishmen. But they were prevented from forming themselves into a regular society by the persecuting laws with which Henry IV. consented to arm the clergy, for the purpose of gaining over that powerful order to support his usurpation. Hence the Lollards, for the most part, differed little outwardly from their neighbours. They were chiefly known by their contempt and hatred of the established religion and of its ministers, joined to a determination to read Scripture, and other books relating to religion, in their own tongue. Occasionally these habits led some holy and undaunted spirit to brave the horrors of the blazing pile : and commonly were seen those who, shrinking from this agonising death, had abjured their opinions. Such unhappy Christians were branded upon the cheek, and badged upon the shoulder. Nor were they allowed to go abroad with any thing upon their heads hiding the letter marked upon the cheek, nor without a dress in which a saggot was not worked or painted upon the left shoulder. Others of the poor Lollards were confined in monasteries, nominally as penitents, but really as prisoners for life.

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After this decisive step Luther's party became more numerous every day. This growing disaffection to the Roman Church alarmed the Emperor Charles V. and accordingly he made an attempt to stem the torrent, by summoning the Saxon Reformer before him, at the diet of Worms, in 1521. Anxious friends advised Luther to disregard this summons, reminding him that imperial promises were not always worthy of reliance, as Huss and Jerome had fatally proved at Constance. But he courageously replied, "I should certainly go to Worms, did I even know that I must encounter as many devils in the place as there are tiles upon the houses." When arrived at the end of his journey, he found himself an object of general curiosity. The crowds that pressed forward to gain a sight of him were greater than even those which had been attracted by the pageantry of Charles's entry into

Worms; and he daily received visits from individuals of the highest rank. His behaviour was far from unworthy of such honours; being respectful, firm, and dignified. But he refused to retract any thing. Notwithstanding, he was allowed to depart unmolested. After he was gone, however, an edict was published, treating him as an excommunicated criminal, and forbidding any one to harbour him after the time of his safe-conduct should expire. His friends thus eluded this severity. At an unfrequented part of the road, as he was journeying homewards, a party of horsemen in masks rushed out of a wood, seized him, and hurried him away to Wartburg, an ancient castle which crowned the lofty summit of a neighbouring hill. In this retreat, which he called his Patmos, Luther spent from nine to ten months: during which time, his name being kept a secret, he was known to the people about the castle by the familiar appellation of *Yunker George*. In this concealment he was freely supplied with every thing needful, both for his personal comfort, and for the prosecution of his studies. He was thus enabled not only to write some controversial pieces, but also to make a great progress in translating the Bible into German: a work which in the end rendered his labours to reform his country's religion immoveably secure.

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it. The result was, that all the prelates, Fisher of Rochester alone excepted, pronounced the King's marriage of doubtful validity.

Political events disappointed Henry's expectations. The Emperor would not consent to the divorce of his aunt, and the Pope was then completely in his power. An imperial army had taken Rome, and it kept Clement closely besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, whither he had fled for safety. No messenger could approach the miserable pontiff in his retreat without passing through Charles's troops, and especial orders were issued that no negociations for divorcing Catharine should be suffered to proceed. Clement's anxiety to keep upon tolerable terms with the Emperor was also increased by that monarch's threats to procure his deposition from the popedom, as being of illegitimate birth, and as having obtained the papal dignity by simony; both of which reasons were sufficient for invalidating his claim to it. At length, after a confinement of seven months in the castle of St. Angelo, Clement, having come to an agreement with Charles, regained his liberty, but he was in a most unhappy plight, and still completely at the Emperor's mercy. He, therefore, endeavoured to escape from Henry's applications for a divorce by craving longer time, and even by recommending privately, that the King should take another wife upon his own authority, and then commence a suit in the papal courts for annulling his former mar-

riage. This advice was, however, at once disregarded by Henry, and he renewed his applications for a regular enquiry into his case. At length, Clement found himself obliged to make a shew of listening to importunities from a quarter so powerful; and, accordingly, he commissioned Wolsey, with the assistance of Campeggio, an Italian cardinal, to try Henry's matrimonial cause upon English ground.

With this arrangement Henry was satisfied, for he doubted not that both the judges were in his interest. Upon Wolsey he could not fail to reckon, and Campeggio had received a substantial favour at his hands; having been preferred by him to the wealthy bishopric of Salisbury, when in England ten years before, with a view to raise contributions for an expedition against the Turks. The King's expectations were, however, completely disappointed. Campeggio delayed his journey to England until the last moment, travelled thither in the most leisurely manner, and when arrived in London, sought only for pretences to protract the cause. Wolsey too, though the senior cardinal, and accustomed habitually to take the lead, affected to be guided entirely by his Italian associate. Nevertheless the two judges could not help opening a court, proceeding to the despatch of business, and even holding out the prospect of giving sentence upon a particular day. A numerous assemblage attended at that time, being the 23d of July, for

the purpose of hearing the conclusion of so remarkable a cause; but Campeggio merely mocked the general curiosity. "Now," said the wily Italian, "begins the vacation in the Roman courts; and of them the court here is merely a branch. It must, therefore, be governed by the same rules; and hence it cannot transact any more business at present. I must, accordingly, adjourn these proceedings until October, when, business recommencing in Rome, we may be allowed to resume our sittings." Before October came the Pope withdrew their powers from the two cardinals, and sent a notice into England, citing the King and Queen before himself, upon the ground of his determination to decide the cause in person. Henry would not, however, allow these citations to be served, considering them as an insult to the independence of his crown; and he now became aware, that Clement, in his late employment of the two cardinals, had merely sought to gain time until he could secure his own interests with the Emperor.

This discovery caused Wolsey's immediate downfall. That famous cardinal was born in 1471, at Ipswich, where his father, it is generally said, was a butcher. The future statesman, proving a boy of uncommon abilities, was sent for education to Magdalen College, Oxford. On attaining manhood, he became master of the adjoining grammar-school; in which situation he taught the sons of the Marquess of Dorset, who, delighted with find-

ing so able an instructor for his children, gave him the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire. When Wolsey went down to take possession of this benefice, his proneness to levity and vicious indulgence appears to have betrayed him into some signal indiscretion: Sir Amias Paulet, one of the neighbouring gentry, having placed him in the stocks. But although Wolsey never forgave the knight for thus exposing him, his future rise was not impeded by the disgrace. On the contrary, fortunate introductions, an excellent address, uncommon abilities, and unwearied perseverance, rapidly raised him from one preferment to another. At the late king's death he was Dean of Lincoln, and royal almoner. On the present king's accession he soon became a distinguished favourite at court. His temper and habits, indeed, were joyous and convivial; qualities which could scarcely fail of gaining upon the affections of a prince in the prime of youth. He possessed that taste for magnificence, and that graceful courtesy of manner, which, being usual among persons of elevated rank, are looked for by them in such as are admitted into their society. He advised his youthful sovereign to indulge freely in those pleasures, which the princely station, and the hoards of a parsimonious father placed so temptingly within his reach. These recommendations being attended by great talents for business, and a strict attention to it, Henry soon found the almoner indispensable to him, both as a man of pleasure

and a king. Wolsey availed himself of this partiality to make immense acquisitions. He became Archbishop of York, and with that see he held in succession the bishoprics of Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester, together with the rich abbacy of St. Alban's. He received also large pensions both from the king of France and the Emperor; and he filled the office of Lord Chancellor. As he added to this enormous wealth, and these splendid appointments, the dignities of cardinal, and of papal legate, there was hardly any thing of professional rank, or political power, short of the papacy, which was left him to desire. He was, indeed, the most opulent and powerful subject that England ever saw. As a public servant he seems to have generally shewn himself both able and industrious; nor probably, had it not been for his constant endeavours to gain the popedom, would his arrangements ever have been at variance with the national interest. In his mode of living, Wolsey's magnificence and profusion knew no bounds. His establishment was upon a princely scale, and individuals of superior birth esteemed themselves fortunate in obtaining a situation about his person. It is by the looseness of his ordinary conduct, and by his want of sound morality, that this great minister's memory is tarnished. Gay and dissipated, vain, haughty, and rapacious, he would have incurred just reproach in any station: to the profession which showered down upon him wealth and

honours with a liberality so prodigal, he was an undeniable discredit.

After having maintained his unexampled elevation during fifteen years, Wolsey wholly ruined himself by his double dealing as to the king's matrimonial cause. At the opening of the Michaelmas term, which followed his appearance as Campeggio's associate, he proceeded once more to the court of Chancery with all that gorgeous ostentation which ever attended him in public. Two days afterwards, however, he was required to surrender the great seal, and to take up his abode at Esher, a village in Surrey, where was then a mansion belonging to the see of Winchester. Before he left town he arranged his magnificent sideboards of gold and silver plate, his costly tapestry, wardrobes of fine linen, silk, and velvet, together with other splendid articles, for the purpose of delivering them up to the king's officers. Having completed this melancholy task, he went on board his barge, and rowed, half broken hearted, up the river towards Putney. Being landed at that village, he mounted his mule, and began a sorrowful ride in the direction of Esher. His attention was quickly roused by a gentleman coming at a great pace down the hill, and who proved to be Norris, groom of the stole, bearing a kind message from the king. Wolsey was no sooner apprised of this than he dismounted with unwonted agility, knelt down in the mire, tore his cap off his head, and in that abject posture received the gra-

cious communication, which, with a ruby ring, Norris was charged by his royal master to deliver. After the receipt of these grateful boons, Wolsey accomplished what remained of his journey in better spirits; but he found that his fall was, indeed, severe. Instead of the magnificent superfluity which he had left at Whitehall, his house at Esher was wholly unfurnished, and a few articles were borrowed of the neighbours for his personal accommodation. As for his attendants, they continued for almost a month without either beds, table-linen, dishes, or money.

During his unhappy residence at Esher, the Cardinal was harassed by legal proceedings instituted against him at the suit of the crown. By an act of Parliament passed in the reign of Edward III., the provisions of which were explained and extended under Richard II., the procuring of any instruments or processes from Rome without the royal license, exposed the individual so offending to the penalties of a *præmunire*; that is, he lost the protection of the law, his effects were forfeited, and his person was liable to be imprisoned. Wolsey was now indicted under this act, which, though strictly constitutional, had long been little regarded. At first he pleaded ignorance of having infringed the law; but afterwards, having admitted himself guilty of the acts laid to his charge, a sentence of *præmunire*, which placed his person and property wholly at the King's

mercy, followed as a matter of course. An accusation against him, consisting of forty-four charges, was then presented by the House of Lords to the King, and a like blow would, probably, have been aimed at him from the Commons, had not one of those able men, whom he never failed to retain about his person, generously undertaken to plead the cause of a fallen master.

It was Thomas Cromwell, who had procured his return for a borough with this particular view, to whom the Cardinal was indebted for this service in the Lower House. The King was delighted by Cromwell's conduct, so different from the cold, calculating selfishness which generally prevails in the world, and he took Wolsey's late dependent immediately into his own confidence. The remarkable man who thus honourably made his way to distinction, was the son of a blacksmith at Putney, in Surrey. The youth of Cromwell was one of hardship and difficulty. At one time he was clerk in the English factory at Antwerp, at another, he served as a mercenary soldier in the army which took Rome, and there was a season in which he was even reduced to beg his bread among foreigners. Greatly to his credit Cromwell never allowed prosperity to make him forgetful of these early disadvantages. When he left England to struggle for a living abroad, he was driven by distress to leave unpaid a debt of forty shillings,

contracted with a woman who kept a public house at Hounslow. Riding down Cheapside one day after he had become a minister of state, he saw this woman, and calling her up to him, he not only acknowledged his debt, but also, finding her reduced to poverty, he pensioned her for life. While at Florence his necessities obliged him to sue for alms, and a merchant, named Frescobaldi, generously supplied him with a new suit of clothes, a horse, and sixteen ducats in money, as the means of enabling him to reach his own country. When Cromwell was in the height of his prosperity, he saw the liberal Italian in London, whither he had come in the hope of retrieving his affairs, then fallen into a very embarrassing condition. The minister immediately made himself known to his ancient benefactor, insisted upon entertaining him at his own house, gave him thirty-six ducats as a re-payment of the advances made to himself at Florence, added a present of sixteen hundred more, by way of interest, as he said, and rendered him most important services in collecting his English debts. Upon another occasion, Cromwell recognised at the monastery of Sheen, where he was engaged in administering the oath of supremacy, a poor man from whom he had received many kindnesses in his youth. To the great surprise of his brother commissioners, he called this humble individual to him, obligingly took him by the hand,

mentioned the benefits which he had once received from him, and promised to provide for him during life.

Wolsey's misfortune preyed so severely upon his spirits, that he became alarmingly ill. Henry heard of this with much concern, and he sent immediately to the Cardinal his own physician, with a valuable ring, and with friendly messages both from himself, and from Anne Boleyn. These acts of kindness were speedily followed by the royal pardon for offences committed under the act of *præmunire*, and by a very liberal provision for the late favourite's future maintenance. Wolsey could not, however, obtain permission to appear again at court, and after a short time he was ordered to take up his abode within his own diocese of York. Reluctantly obeying, he travelled northwards, attended by a retinue far less imposing, indeed, than any of those which had waited upon his movements in former times; but still magnificent. He first settled his numerous establishment at Southwell: where was a mansion belonging to the see of York. In this abode he displayed a new and a highly amiable character. He was exemplary in the discharge of his professional duties, hospitable, courteous, easy of access, and charitable. After living for a few weeks at Southwell, he removed to Scroby, another house appended to his see. There too the fame of his piety, his alms-deeds, and affability soon filled all the surrounding country. He

displayed the same excellent qualities at Cawood, where he seems to have thought of settling finally. But he had not long been seated in the castle of that place, when he was arrested upon a charge of high-treason. Altered for the better as his manners had lately been, it appears that his affections were not thoroughly weaned from the splendid vanities amidst which he had lived so long. It had been discovered, accordingly, that he was forming conspiracies against the government both in England, and with Rome. Of such misconduct, however, his neighbours at Cawood were necessarily unaware, and they poured blessings upon him, and curses on his enemies, as he left the castle in custody, viewing him as a benefit and an honour of which they were unjustly despoiled. At Sheffield-park he stayed above a fortnight with the Earl of Shrewsbury, and there, either the agitation of his spirits, or the sudden assault of some constitutional infirmity, threw him into a serious illness. While his malady was in active operation, he resumed his journey, but at Leicester his strength wholly failed him. He was conducted to the abbey which then adorned that town; and at its portal he found the abbot, with all his convent, waiting to receive their distinguished guest. "Father Abbot," said the exhausted traveller, "I am come to leave my bones among you." He was then borne on his mule's back to the foot of the stair-case leading to his apartment, and thence rather carried than as-

sisted into the chamber which became his last earthly resting-place. Before he closed his eyes in death, he mournfully said to Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, to whose custody he was entrusted: "If I had served my God as diligently as I have served my King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this is the just reward of my diligent pains and study to do him service; not regarding my service to God; but only to satisfy his pleasure." Soon after uttering this ever-needed warning, the sinking patient resigned his breath, and thus the man who had realised the most extravagant objects of human ambition to an extent never before seen in England was humbled in the dust.

Wolsey's disgrace proved a serious injury to English Popery. The clergy generally were obnoxious to the king, because as a body they were unfavourable to his desired divorce; and they had lost much of their hold upon public opinion from the progress of reformed opinions. Hence they were in a great measure defenceless, and in order to humble them completely, a prosecution was instituted against them in the Court of King's Bench for submitting to that legatine authority which the Cardinal had exercised in violation of the laws. As the frightful penalties of a *præmunire* were the probable consequences of this prosecution, the clergy warded off the blow by voting to the crown, as a benevolence, one hundred and eighteen thousand and

forty pounds; an enormous sum for those days. Upon this, Henry consented to forego the prosecution which his law-officers had begun; but he would not rest until his clerical subjects had solemnly admitted in Convocation, that he was Supreme Head of the Church of England, so far as is allowed by the law of Christ. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, a wise and exemplary prelate, argued that such a title properly belonged to the crown. But the Popes had long usurped it, and men, generally, but especially such as were in holy orders, had forgotten that these Italian bishops laid claim to privileges unknown to Scripture, and expressly denied to them by the constitution of England. A decided advantage was, therefore, gained by the Reformation when the clergy were driven to consider the grounds upon which they had undergone the yoke of a foreign church, and it is highly creditable to Archbishop Warham, that he so readily, near the close of a long life, acknowledged the unsoundness of a principle upon which he had been ever used to act.

A more important consequence immediately flowing from the king's quarrel with Wolsey, was an introduction to court of that great and good man to whom, under Providence, England mainly owes the reformation of her Church. Thomas Cranmer was born at the seat of his ancestors, at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, in 1489. Being the second son, he was, probably, intended for a learned pro-

fession, and accordingly, at the age of fourteen, he was sent to Jesus College, Cambridge. While a youth in the university, he diligently applied himself to those logical studies which were then pursued almost exclusively. But soon after attaining manhood, he laid aside these unprofitable exercises of the mind for the truly-improving course of reading which Erasmus and other excellent foreign scholars were then bringing into vogue. Cranmer's early diligence had been rewarded by a fellowship of his college; a situation which none but single men can hold. He chose, however, to forego this benefit for the purpose of marrying a young lady of respectable family, but of little or no fortune. He had then no profession, not having taken holy orders, and he gained a subsistence by reading a lecture at Buckingham College. But this arrangement proved of very short continuance. In little more than a year after his marriage, his wife died in child-birth. Nor did the infant survive. He was then re-elected fellow of Jesus College; no doubtful testimony to his merit from those who had possessed sufficient means of estimating it correctly.

While he was diligently engaged in the prosecution of his studies, Luther and Zuingle arrested the attention of all thinking men in Western Europe. Cranmer looked with intense interest upon the controversies which raged in Saxony and Switzerland. But he soon became sensible that he

was not qualified, from his ignorance of Scripture, to form a correct judgment of the questions then so keenly debated. This defect was no sooner felt than, with his characteristic industry, he laboured to remove it. During three following years, the Bible, with the best commentators upon it, occupied his time; and in order to obtain a critical knowledge of the sacred volume, he studied the Greek and Hebrew languages. Indeed few students have ever pursued their particular objects in a more effective manner than Cranmer. He thoroughly examined every branch of learning to which his attention was directed; and as he never was a hasty, desultory reader, having made any acquisition likely to be useful, he took care not to lose it again. As a security against such a waste of his time, he seldom sat down to the perusal of an author without at the same time taking his pen in hand; and he never failed either to extract passages which struck him as worthy of notice, or to mark the places in which they could be found.

When about thirty-four years of age, he became doctor in divinity. His reputation then stood so high at Cambridge, that he was invited to accept an appointment in Wolsey's new college at Oxford. The offer was such as he did not think it prudent to decline, and he even began his journey towards the sister university. On the road, however, he was admonished by a friend, that, as a conscientious divine, he was bound to cultivate humility, rather

than hear the suggestions of ambition. The hint was sufficient to change his purpose, and he contentedly returned to Cambridge. There he pursued his studies with unabated vigour. He read the Greek and Latin fathers, examined the decrees of councils, and, in fine, explored every branch of theology. The members of his own college gladly appointed a scholar of such extensive attainments to read their lecture in divinity; and he was also entrusted by the University with the charge of examining candidates for divinity degrees. In this capacity he acted upon a principle till then unknown in Cambridge. He examined all candidates who came to him as to their knowledge of Scripture, and if he found them grossly deficient in acquaintance with the sacred volume, he refused to recommend them for the degree which they sought. This innovation, like all others, met with some resistance. The monks and friars especially complained of the contempt with which the new examiner treated established systems of theology. But Cranmer heeded not such clamours; never failing to admonish candidates versed only in school-divines, that they ought to spend two or three years in the diligent study of Scripture, before they could reasonably ask of the University a distinction intended for proficients in sacred learning. Among the persons greeted by this admonition, there were those who afterwards acknowledged its justice; admitting that it had led them to acquire information of the most

valuable kind, though such as the prevalence of evil habits had caused them wholly to overlook. Indeed a man of sense and integrity was very little likely to feel offended by any recommendation that came from Cranmer. Not only did the fame of his scholarship entitle his opinions to a respectful consideration, but also the whole course of his life was so thoroughly blameless, that he was above the suspicion of acting from any unworthy motive. Just, temperate, mild, regular, and placable, a stranger to malice and revenge, he discharged the duties entrusted to him in such a manner as to command universal respect.

Among Cranmer's pupils at Cambridge, were two lads named Cressy, sons of a gentleman who had married a relation of his. These youths were driven from the University by the appearance of the plague in the town; and they retired, together with their tutor, to their father's house, at Waltham Abbey, in Essex. This was about the time when the two Cardinals, Wolsey and Campeggio, had caused such general surprise and disgust by suddenly putting off the King's matrimonial cause until the following October. Henry had endeavoured to keep himself in tolerable temper under this unexpected vexation by a journey to Grafton, in Northamptonshire. On his way back from that place towards London, he stopped at Waltham, chiefly for the purpose of enjoying the pleasure of hunting in the neighbouring forest. As usual

he was attended by a very numerous retinue; so that his arrival not only filled with guests the noble abbey which then proudly rose above the town of Waltham; but also most of the gentlemen's houses around. In Mr. Cressy's house were lodged, Fox, the King's almoner, and, Gardiner, one of the royal secretaries who travelled with his Majesty: the latter of whom requires a particular introduction to the reader.

Stephen Gardiner was born at Bury St. Edmund's. Of his origin nothing certain is known. The man who passed as his father was servant to Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury. It was, however, generally believed that the bishop himself was young Gardiner's father; and that, to avoid the infamy which the discovery of such a fact would entail upon a person in his station, he contrived to dispose of his paramour in marriage before the time of her pregnancy was expired. But whatever might be the disadvantages which clouded Gardiner's youth, his abilities enabled him early to surmount them. He was educated at Cambridge, where, in time, he became master of Trinity-hall. The foundation of his farther preferment was laid by means of an introduction to Cardinal Wolsey, who made him his secretary. While in this employment the draught of a treaty, displaying more than ordinary talents, was laid by Wolsey before the king. Henry, stricken by the masterly character of the piece, enquired the name of the person

who had prepared it, and he soon afterwards appointed the able writer one of his own secretaries. In this situation Gardiner rapidly acquired favour, not only with his royal master, but also with Anne Boleyn. He had, indeed, shewn himself a most able and indefatigable promoter of the divorce; and Henry begged of him, on the way from Grafton, that he would continue to give this vexatious subject the chief place in his thoughts.

On coming to supper in Mr. Cressy's house at Waltham, Fox and Gardiner were much gratified by meeting Cranmer, having known him at Cambridge, and necessarily, like others acquainted with that University, thinking very highly of him. In the course of conversation the two courtiers desired his opinion as to the king's matrimonial case. He replied: "I have not reflected upon this question in all its bearings, as you gentlemen have; but it seems to me, that nothing connected with it needs to be considered, except merely whether his highness has contracted such a marriage as the recorded word of God allows. Of this matter learned divines are the only competent judges; and by the collective opinion of such persons upon the case, it seems to me most reasonable to abide. This opinion might be obtained with no very great degree of trouble and expence; and after it was once fairly before the King's Grace, he might, according to it, either determine upon divorcing his wife, or he might live with her with a safe conscience." This

suggestion, by which it was proposed to decide the question without any reference to popes and their dispensations, at once struck the hearers as adapted to cut the knot, which no man hitherto had been able to untie.

On the following day the king removed to Greenwich. There, in an audience which he gave to Fox and Gardiner, he thus expressed himself: "What now, my masters, shall we do in this endless cause of mine? I have a notion that there must be a new commission procured from Rome; and when we shall find an end, God only knoweth, and not I." To this the almoner replied: "We trust, Sir, that there shall be better ways devised than to travel any more so far as Rome for the despatching of your Highness's cause. A plan to render this needless was put into our heads last night at Waltham." The king earnestly rejoined: "Indeed! who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said cause?"—"It chanced us last night, Sir," resumed Fox, "to be lodged at Waltham, with one Mr. Cressy. At his table we met with an old acquaintance of ours, Dr. Cranmer by name; with whom having conference touching your Highness's case, he said, that in his opinion, the best and shortest way to instruct and quiet your royal conscience, would be to try the question at issue solely by God's written word; and according to the sense which shall be drawn therefrom by sufficient judges of the same, to pro-

ceed to a final sentence." Henry, listening with eager attention to these words, asked, "Where is this Dr. Cranmer? Is he still at Waltham?" The answer was, "We left him there last night."—"Marry, then," rejoined the King, "I will surely speak to him. Let him be sent for out of hand. I perceive that this man hath the sow by the right ear. If I had but known this device two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me of much disquietness."

A messenger was now immediately sent to Waltham, to desire Cranmer to wait upon the King, at Greenwich. The doctor had, however, left Mr. Cressy's house for Cambridge, through which town he meant to pass in his way to Nottinghamshire, whither he was going upon a visit to his family. The royal messenger's arrival disconcerted this agreeable plan, greatly to his dissatisfaction, and upon reaching Greenwich, he blamed Fox and Gardiner for mentioning his name to the King. "I have not sufficiently considered the question," he said, "and, therefore, pray get me excused from appearing before his Highness." The King, however, insisted upon seeing him, and the modest scholar found himself obliged to wait upon his sovereign. Henry received him great kindness; and leading the conversation to what passed at Waltham, he asked whether the report of Fox and Gardiner was correct. Cranmer answered in the

affirmative. "Well," rejoined the King, "I perceive that you have the right scope of this matter. You must understand, that I have been long troubled in conscience; and now I see, that by thy means, I might have been long ago relieved one way or other from the same, if we had this way proceeded. And, therefore, master doctor, I pray you, and nevertheless, because you are a subject, I command you, all your other business and affairs set apart, to take some pains to see this my cause furthered according to your device, as much as it may lie in you: so that I may shortly understand whereunto I may trust. For this I protest before God and the world, that I seek not to be divorced from the Queen, if by any means I might justly be persuaded, that this our matrimony werē inviolable, and not against the laws of God; for, otherwise, there never was cause to move me to seek such extremity. Neither was there ever a prince that had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving companion and wife than the Queen is; nor I never fancied woman in all respects better, if this doubt had not arisen: assuring you, that for the singular virtues with which she is endued, besides the consideration of her noble stock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if so it would stand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God. I therefore pray you, with an impartial eye, and with as much dexterity as lieth in you, that you, for your part, do handle the matter for the dis-

charging of both our consciences." Encouraging as was this address, Cranmer would gladly have been excused from the task imposed upon him. He ventured, therefore, to recommend, that some of the ablest divines in the universities should be required to examine whether such a marriage as his Majesty's were agreeable to God's recorded word. "You say well," rejoined the King, "and I am content therewith: yet, nevertheless, I will have you specially to write your mind therein." In order that Cranmer might find no difficulty in fulfilling this command, Henry called Sir Thomas Boleyn, now created Earl of Wiltshire, and said, "I pray you, my Lord, let Dr. Cranmer have entertainment at your house for a time, to the intent that he may be there quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither books nor any thing requisite for his studies."

Under Lord Wiltshire's hospitable roof, Cranmer composed a treatise against the royal marriage. Soon afterwards the two English Universities were consulted upon the case. Their opinions, which were given with reluctance, pronounced it contrary to God's law that a man should marry his brother's widow; but nothing was determined as to the Pope's power over such a case. Continental scholars were found, however, less reserved. Five of the most celebrated universities in France, not only declared such a marriage as Henry's irreconcilable with God's laws, but also denied that a

papal dispensation could render it valid. Even in Italy, a large proportion of the persons best qualified to decide upon such questions, came to the same determination. It was said, that many of these opinions were bought by English gold, and were, therefore, unworthy of notice. But such a view is inaccurate. Many of the persons who furnished opinions favourable to Henry's designs, were above the baseness of affirming, for the sake of a bribe, what they did not believe. Of those who were known to take money from the king's agents, many were practitioners in civil law; men who gained a living by supplying written answers to cases, and who necessarily expected a fee from Henry's question, as for every other submitted to them. It is certainly not improbable, that in some instances English money might have influenced an expressed opinion. But men capable of such disgraceful conduct are always ready for the best bidder. Hence the Emperor and the Pope might reckon upon their services at least as confidently as Henry. Nor, in truth, did Charles and Clement fail to secure opinions on their own side both by means of pecuniary presents, and also by promises of preferment. Upon the whole, there is no reason to doubt, that a great majority of the most competent persons who examined the question, both considered Henry's connection with Catherine as unlawful in itself, and also as one which no papal dispensation could render valid. Vainly, how-

ever, did a dignified embassy from England press this general opinion upon the Pope's attention. Clement was now in close alliance with the Emperor, and he would not consent to mortify that monarch's pride, and cross his policy. Equally vain were all attempts to procure Charles's concurrence in the divorce of his aunt. Cranmer, after a fruitless endeavour to work upon the Pope, resided for a considerable time at the imperial court. He thus, indeed, enjoyed opportunities, which he gladly embraced, of conversing with the German Reformers. But this advantage was the principal fruit of his visit to the continent. He found his arguments in favour of the king's divorce received as coldly at the court of Charles, as they had been at that of Clement.

From Germany Cranmer was unexpectedly recalled for the purpose of filling the see of Canterbury, which had become vacant by Archbishop Warham's death, in August, 1532. His nomination to this preferment filled Cranmer's mind with uneasiness, and he would fain have continued in a humbler station. His residence abroad, had indeed, confirmed him in attachment to the Reformation, and he had besides lately married a niece of Osiander, a German Protestant divine of celebrity. Now, he could not fail of apprehending, that as the Roman religion was established in England, and the Roman canons, which obliged clergymen to live unmarried, were admitted there, he would probably find great

difficulties in presiding over the national Church. Henry, however, would hear of no refusal, and accordingly, in March, 1533, Cranmer was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. Among the forms which he was required to undergo upon this occasion, was the taking of an oath to the Pope: in import something doubtful. Before Cranmer submitted to this most improper usage, he made a public and a solemn protest, that he never would understand this obligation as binding him to any thing inconsistent with his duty as a Christian minister, and an English subject.

A short time before Cranmer's consecration, the King made Anne Boleyn his wife. That celebrated beauty had been created Marchioness of Pembroke, in the preceding September, and soon afterwards, she was introduced by her royal suitor to the King of France, in a splendid visit which Henry paid to the continent. Anne appears to have conducted herself with great propriety during her long suspense. Her marriage was privately solemnised at Whitehall, on the 25th of January, 1533, by Dr. Rowland Lee, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. Anne's pregnancy followed closely upon this secret measure, and, therefore, the King was obliged to avow publicly his altered situation, probably something before the time he had intended to do so. The first indication of an approach towards the settlement of Catharine's case was given by the Convocation, which decided, that Popes

dered a bull of excommunication against the Saxon Reformer, ordering, among other things, that his writings should be burnt. Luther quickly published an answer to this bull, which he called "The execrable Bull of Antichrist," he appealed again from the Pope to a general council, he printed a work, entitled "The Babylonish Captivity," attacking Romanism in many new points, and, finally, he made a bonfire under the walls of Wittemberg, into which, before a crowd of applauding spectators, he formally cast the papal canon-law, and the bull issued against himself.

After this decisive step Luther's party became more numerous every day. This growing disaffection to the Roman Church alarmed the Emperor Charles V. and accordingly he made an attempt to stem the torrent, by summoning the Saxon Reformer before him, at the diet of Worms, in 1521. Anxious friends advised Luther to disregard this summons, reminding him that imperial promises were not always worthy of reliance, as Huss and Jerome had fatally proved at Constance. But he courageously replied, "I should certainly go to Worms, did I even know that I must encounter as many devils in the place as there are tiles upon the houses." When arrived at the end of his journey, he found himself an object of general curiosity. The crowds that pressed forward to gain a sight of him were greater than even those which had been attracted by the pageantry of Charles's entry into

than to enter upon more decisive measures. In England, however, Clement's authority fell almost daily into greater contempt. Acts of Parliament were passed to restrain all payments and appeals to the Pope, and in fine, effectually to prevent his future interference in English affairs. The papacy received another severe blow from the Convocation and the two Universities, which decided that *the Bishop of Rome has no more power over England conferred upon him by God's Word, than any other foreign bishop*. Orders were now given to erase the Pope's name from all books of devotion. Sermons against his usurpation were delivered regularly at St. Paul's Cross, and other places; nor was any thing omitted which seemed likely to enlighten the public mind as to the real nature of that empire which the Roman bishops had gradually acquired over the West.

Notwithstanding, however, this happy rejection of the Pope's usurped authority, the religious corruptions which England had imbibed during her degrading connexion with Rome were still rooted in the public mind. Aware that he should never be able to deliver his countrymen from this misfortune while they were debarred access to sound religious information, Cranmer anxiously desired to place again the Bible in their hands. When God graciously revealed his will to the ancient Israelites, he spoke a language which they understood. A captivity of seventy years by the waters of Babylon, made the Jews forget the speech

of their fathers, for that of those who had led them away into a strange land. Ezra took care that the people should not suffer by this alteration. The law was read, indeed, to the restored race of Israel in the very words which their ancestors had been used to hear. But no sooner was a verse of the original Hebrew concluded, than an interpreter, who stood by, rendered it into Chaldee, for the instruction of the congregation. In process of time the Jews extended themselves among the neighbouring nations, and Greek became the language with which many of them were best acquainted. For the use of such persons the Septuagint version of the Old Testament was provided. A direct approval of such measures was given from the highest authority, in the more complete revelation of God's will which followed our Saviour's ascension. The language most highly esteemed, and most generally understood at that time was the Greek. In that language, accordingly, did the Apostles and Evangelists compose the New Testament. As a large portion, however, of those who embraced the Gospel did not understand the tongue of Greece, translations of the Scriptures for the use of such converts were made in the infancy of the Church. In the East, spiritual food was supplied to Christians by means of the Syriac version: in the West, by means of the Italic, or ancient Vulgate. Nor did it cease to be the benevolent and judicious policy of those holy men who laboured to Christianise the world, that whenever a na-

tion was converted to the Faith, the Book of Life was rendered into its native tongue. The Anglo-Saxons derived, as usual, this advantage from their conversion to Christianity. By different scholars among them the whole Bible appears to have been rendered into the popular speech. After the Conquest, however, England lost this inestimable benefit. The Normans fixing themselves in all parts of the country, French became gradually so blended with old English, that a new tongue sprang up. The people thus became unable to read the Anglo-Saxon Bibles, and the clergy thought not of assisting them under this misfortune. Ever since, indeed, the bloody wars which destroyed the Albigenses, or ancient Protestants of Southern France, the Popes had forbidden men to read the Scriptures without especial permission. It was found impossible to root out the ancient apostolical religion of France, while people could turn to their Bibles and see there, that they had received from their forefathers the same faith which was preached by those who had conversed with our Lord himself. Pope Innocent III., therefore, about the year 1200, determined upon removing this insurmountable obstacle to the progress of Popery; nothing doubtful, that a general unacquaintance with the Book of Life would be highly favourable to the usurping policy of the papal see. Experience shewed him to be completely in the right. Three hundred years rolled away between his days and

those of Luther. In all this long time the Bible was a sealed book. It was, indeed, to be found in Latin in larger libraries. But very few professed scholars even ever thought of reading it, and there is good reason for believing, that the great mass of men had never heard that such a book was in existence. The consequence was, that superstitions and corruptions overspread all the western nations, and that the Roman bishops, who politically encouraged those things, so dear to human nature, were enabled to trample upon the civil and religious liberties of every surrounding state. In England Wickliffe endeavoured to dispel the spiritual darkness which brooded over the land, by translating the Book of Life into the national tongue. His translation was made from the Latin Vulgate with a degree of closeness which occasionally renders the meaning obscure. This slavish adherence to that version of Scripture which was used in the Roman Church, did not, however, reconcile the ruling ecclesiastics of England to Wickliffe's English Bible. On the contrary, they insisted that in it the sense of the original was unfaithfully given, and they laboured, accordingly, to prevent the book from circulating. Their endeavours to accomplish this object were attended with very considerable success. Within a few years after the death of Wickliffe a copy of his New Testament was not to be bought under an extravagant price for that age. Afterwards, these books became cheaper; but as

they were to the last prohibited, and in manuscript, it is not likely that their possessors were ever very numerous.

Thus it happened, that when the Reformation first occupied the minds of Englishmen, the conformity of its doctrines with those revealed in Scripture, became a matter of doubt, which few persons comparatively possessed the means of solving. To remedy this defect there was no want of zeal and talents among those Englishmen who desired to see their country blessed with a change of religion. But the national authorities were adverse to their views; and they had good reason to conclude, that any attempt to enlighten the minds of the people by a new version of the Scriptures, would draw down upon the translators the vengeance of those in power. A conviction of this impelled a devout Englishman to seek that protection for his labours from a foreign government, which, he could not doubt, would be refused to him at home. William Tyndale was born upon the borders of Wales, and studied in both the English Universities. Before he left these learned societies, he became much addicted to biblical researches, and he had laboured with some success to introduce a like taste among his fellow-students. On his removal from college he undertook the office of tutor in a gentleman's family; in which situation he disgusted some of the dignified clergymen, who visited at his patron's house, by his commendations of Luther, and by his

readiness in defending that reformer's arguments. As Tyndale had begun to argue in print, as well as in conversation, on this side of the question, he found, after a short time, that he must leave his situation, unless he would make up his mind to face a prosecution for heresy. Being desirous of not running needlessly into this danger, he withdrew from the country, in the hope that his learning would procure for him some appointment in the family of Tunstall, then Bishop of London, a personage justly famed for his accomplishments and liberality. When Tyndale, however, arrived in the metropolis, he found that the prelate upon whom he had calculated as a new patron, had already so many dependants, that he could not make room for another. Fortunately this disappointment was more than made up to the destitute scholar, by the kindness of Henry Monmouth, a wealthy merchant and alderman of London. Monmouth had felt the truth of Luther's doctrine, and he generously gave to Tyndale an allowance of ten pounds a-year, as the means of enabling him to live abroad, and there labour for the benefit of England. Being thus provided with a decent maintenance, the pious Englishman first went into Saxony, where he had the satisfaction of conversing with Luther. He took up his abode afterwards at Antwerp, and in that great commercial city he busied himself in translating the New Testament. Of this important work fifteen hundred copies were printed at Antwerp.

but without the translator's name, in 1526. The volume was no sooner published than it found its way into England, where it occasioned great uneasiness among the clergy. It soon, however, became manifest, that the circulation of the work could not be wholly prevented; since the commercial intercourse between England and the Netherlands afforded innumerable facilities for its importation; and the people were not easily convinced that God's revealed word was unsuited to the reading of his reasonable creatures. Under these difficulties Bishop Tunstall thought that the best way to prevent the obnoxious books from finding readers in all parts of the land, would be by destroying every copy of the work that should fall in his way.

An opportunity of effecting this destruction upon a large scale, was given to him when he went abroad as ambassador, in 1529. While at Antwerp Tunstall sent for Packington, an English merchant, who was a secret favourer of Tyndale. In the course of conversation Packington was sounded by the Bishop as to the best means of procuring all the copies of the English Testament, which yet remained unsold. Nothing could be more desirable to the learned and industrious translator than to turn his books into money immediately, since he was very much straitened in circumstances, and wholly unable to print a corrected edition of his work, while the former impression continued upon his hands. The English merchant being well aware

of Tyndale's condition and intentions, readily entered into Tunstall's scheme, and said that he could easily procure all the unsold Testaments, if his lordship would find the money wherewith to pay for them. Delighted to hear this, the Bishop replied: "Gentle master Packington, do your diligence, and get the books; I will pay you for them with all my heart. They are erroneous and naughty: therefore I surely intend to destroy them all by having them burnt at St. Paul's Cross." The trader now took his leave, and making the best of his way to Tyndale, he thus addressed him: "William, I know thou art a poor man, and hast a heap of New Testaments and books by thee, for the which thou hast both endangered thy friends, and beggared thyself. However, I have now gotten thee a merchant, who, with ready money, shall despatch thee of all thou hast, if thou thinkest it so profitable for thyself."—"Pray," said Tyndale, "who is the merchant?"—"The Bishop of London," was the answer. "O, that is because he will burn them," rejoined Tyndale. "Yea, marry," was Packington's answer. "Well, be it so," said the translator; "I am the gladder; for these two benefits shall come thereby: I shall get money of him for these books to bring myself out of debt, and the whole world shall cry out upon the burning of God's word. As for the overplus that shall remain to me after the settlement of my accounts, it shall make me the more studious to correct the said

New Testament, and so newly to imprint the same again : and I trust the second will much more like you than ever did the first." It was not long after this before the books were delivered to Tunstall, and the price of them to Tyndale, who heartily thanked his mercantile friend for having thus contrived to relieve his present necessities, and to furnish him with the means of bringing out a more perfect edition of his useful work. While he was labouring to effect this the Bishop arrived in England, where he did not fail to amaze the Londoners by publicly committing to the flames his Antwerp purchase. Few things could be more injurious to the Romish cause than this indecent exhibition. The people were disgusted when they saw God's undoubted word treated thus ignominiously ; and the impression made upon their minds naturally was, that no man acquainted with Scripture could believe the Romish religion.

While this opinion was fast gaining ground in England, Tyndale unweariedly strove at Antwerp to produce a much better version of the Testament than that which he had lately published. He was well qualified for such a task, being an excellent scholar, and he was now bent upon rendering his new edition accurate enough to defy the objections of any fair and candid critic. His labours therefore, this time, proceeded cautiously and slowly. His countrymen, however, were impatient to see him again in print, and hence some enterprising

Dutchmen became satisfied, that a new edition of his decried Testament was likely to prove an excellent speculation. Five thousand copies of this book were accordingly printed in Holland, in 1527; and immediately they came over into England, we are informed, "thick and threefold!" The clergy were astounded at this wide dispersion of a book, which they so much dreaded. Tunstall appears to have thought that Packington had only furnished him with a portion of the copies on hand: he therefore sent for that merchant, and required him to explain how it happened, that in spite of his purchase at Antwerp, England was deluged with New Testaments. The trader's answer was: "My Lord, the types yet remain; your Lordship had better buy them up." But the Bishop had been somewhat enlightened by the consequences of the step which he had taken while abroad. He smiled, therefore, and merely said: "Well, Packington, well." Still, however, the men in power were not cured of their folly, indecent as it was, and fruitless as they found it. A strict search was made for those who imported the hated books, and some persons thus engaged were detected. These men were paraded through the streets of London on horseback, with their faces towards the animals' tails, and with a string of English Testaments fastened about their necks. A fire blazed at the extremity of their compulsory ride, and into this they were made to throw the offensive books.

Sir Thomas More, now Lord Chancellor, thought if Tyndale's principal English friend could be discovered, it would be possible to guard against a farther importation of that industrious scholar's works. Sending, accordingly, for Constantine, then in custody as a heretic, and known as an associate of the refugees in Flanders, More said: "Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee I will shew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There are beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you. I know they cannot live without help. There be some that help and succour them with money, and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee, tell me who be they that help them thus?" The following was Constantine's reply. "My Lord, I will tell you truly: it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us; for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them, and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my truth," said More, "I think even the same, for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it."

After a time, the clergy began to suspect, that it might prove above their power to prevent the Scriptures from circulating in English, and they plainly saw, that open endeavours to restrain men from reading the Bible were injurious to the

Romish cause. Accordingly, in 1531, the King attended a meeting of prelates, officers of state, and eminent scholars, in the Star-chamber; when heavy complaints were made against many publications then circulated, and especially against Tyndale's Testament, which was said to be very unfaithful to the original. The results of this meeting were a proclamation against the obnoxious books, and a promise that the Scripture should be speedily translated in such a manner as not to deceive its readers. No attempt, however, was made to redeem this pledge, and, therefore, the people continued to supply themselves, in spite of every precaution taken to prevent it, with books imported from the Netherlands.

The Testaments derived from this quarter had become extremely faulty, from the ignorance of English prevailing among the foreigners who superintended the impression of them. In order to remedy this defect, when a fourth edition was undertaken, the Dutch printers, who had pirated Tyndale's work, engaged Joye, a learned Englishman, who had taken refuge on the continent, to correct the press. Joye did not content himself with barely fulfilling the duty which his employers expected of him; in some places he corrected also the version itself. This liberty with his work gave the highest offence to Tyndale, who reflected upon Joye with unbecoming severity in a preface to the second edition of the Testament proceeding

from his own hands. This work was published in November, 1533; about three months after the appearance of that fourth Dutch edition which had been brought out with the benefit of Joye's assistance. Besides the New Testament, Tyndale, who was acquainted with Hebrew, had translated the five books of Moses, with some other portions of the former volume of inspiration; and he had resolved upon presenting his countrymen with a complete version of the Bible. He had also translated and composed various tracts for the purpose of exposing the Romish religion. At length his pious labours were suddenly brought to a close. A degenerate Englishman basely undertook to betray him; and after being kept for a year and a half in prison, he was strangled at the stake, and his body then consumed to ashes, at Vilvorde, a small town between Mechlin and Brussels. Just before he expired, he thus gave utterance to his holy zeal for the truth: "Lord, open the King of England's eyes."

But although posterity cannot fail of doing justice to the unshrinking industry, and upright intentions of Tyndale, his active hostility to Romanism necessarily raised a violent prejudice against him among a large proportion of those who lived in his own time. His version, therefore, even had it been more correct and comprehensive than it actually was, could not have been recommended to the people by royal authority without causing a con-

siderable outcry. For the sake of avoiding this evil, Archbishop Cranmer rather desired to see the pledge redeemed which had been given under his predecessor Warham. He reminded the Convocation, accordingly, of the admission then made in the Star-Chamber, that a correct version of Scripture would be an important benefit to the nation. Upon this, an address was voted to the throne praying, that his Majesty would name some honest, learned men to render the Bible into English, in order that "it should be delivered unto the people according to their learning." From these last words it is plain that the Convocation did not mean to countenance an unrestrained permission to read the Scriptures.

Having thus persuaded the Convocation to sanction his endeavours, Cranmer attempted to make arrangements for the proposed translation. He was, however, unsuccessful; and again, after a considerable interval, he urged the Convocation to redeem its character by laying open to public inspection the Book of Life. An address was voted, accordingly, to the King once more, in which his Majesty was besought to give orders for the preparation of a correct version of the Bible. Henry's advisers, who favoured Romanism, exerted themselves to render fruitless this movement also. They represented, that a free use of Scripture would unsettle men's minds, and breed uneasiness through the country. Happily, there were about the royal

person, such as argued in a very different strain. These counsellors suggested, that the comparisons made between the King's supremacy and the Pope's could not fail of being greatly in favour of the former, when men saw that one of its earliest fruits was the spreading of religious light; whereas the papacy had ever sought to shroud its practices in darkness. These reasonings prevailed, and the long-desired publication of Scripture was at length undertaken in earnest.

Upon Cranmer the burden of this honourable labour chiefly rested. He caused an existing version of the Bible to be copied in separate portions, of which one was sent to each of the most learned bishops, or to some other competent scholar; until the whole were thus disposed of. With his portion every individual received an intimation that he was expected to return it in a corrected state to the Archbishop on a given day. This plan, however, appears to have, in a great degree, miscarried; for an authorised Bible was slow in issuing from the press, and at last it seems to have been superintended by a private editor. This important volume was published in folio, in 1537, being translated, according to the title-page, by Thomas Matthewe: a fictitious name adopted to disguise the fact, that the translation was accomplished by scholars whose labours had been industriously depreciated by the Romish party. The real editor was, probably, Rogers, known under King Edward as an efficient

preacher, and who is honourably conspicuous as the first Protestant burnt in Queen Mary's reign. The translation is partly that of Tyndale, partly that of Coverdale, who leaving the habit of an Austin friar, had busied himself in the noble occupation of rendering Scripture into his mother-tongue. A new edition of this authorised English Bible, corrected in many places, made its appearance in 1539. Paris then afforded better paper, and more expert artizans than could be found in England. It was determined, therefore, to print the work in the French capital. There, twenty-five hundred copies were actually struck off, when the Inquisition seized the printed sheets, and ignominiously committed them to the flames. Some of the printers were, moreover, called before the Inquisitors to answer for their conduct in earning a livelihood by aiding mechanically in placing God's Word within the reach of his reasonable creatures. The Englishmen employed in a work, so blameworthy in the eyes of zealous Parisian Romanists, fled in dismay to their own country. There, Cromwell undertook to become their protector, and under his encouragement, they returned to Paris for the purpose of procuring the types which had been used in working off the destroyed impression. This object was accomplished; and in England, the goodly folio, for such it was, uninterruptedly made its way through the press. It was ordinarily called the Great, or Cranmer's Bible, from the

pains taken by the Archbishop to render it more correct than any English version hitherto published. With this labour, so worthy of his character, the conscientious prelate was not, however, satisfied. He desired also to procure from the King a licence, permitting all his subjects freely at all times to avail themselves of the knowledge which God has graciously vouchsafed to man. The prospect of this indulgence alarmed the Romish party; and Gardiner exerted all his influence to persuade his sovereign, that it certainly must be his duty to prevent the people from reading the Bible by their own fire-sides. But Henry doubted the justice of such reasoning; and, one day, when both the Bishop of Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury were in his presence together, he desired to hear the grounds of their respective opinions. Gardiner immediately launched out upon the dangers of allowing men the free use of Scripture; and, in the course of his argument, he had the hardihood to declare, that certain ancient canons attributed to the Apostles, but undoubtedly written since their time, it is not known by whom, are of equal authority with the New Testament. This assertion he defied Cranmer to disprove. It was, however, soon disproved by the Archbishop; much to the satisfaction of Henry, who, stricken by the contrast between laboured artifice on one side, and plain sense on the other, hastily said to Gardiner, "Such a novice as you had better not

meddle with an old, experienced captain, like my Lord of Canterbury."

Farther opposition to Cranmer's pious views being hopeless, the English Bible was allowed to circulate freely over the whole country. This privilege, or rather this restoration of an inalienable right, gave general satisfaction. Persons of piety and seriousness, whose minds were not utterly enslaved by Romish prejudices, were highly gratified by the opportunity of drawing comfort and instruction from the sacred source of truth. Others were led by mere curiosity to examine the most revered and celebrated of all books, which, although latterly the subject of many keen debates, had not been opened unreservedly to the eyes of men until after such an arduous struggle. The result was as might be expected: many such persons as now turn from the reading of Scripture as an irksome task, eagerly perused its admirable pages, while their contents were new. For a time even tales of knight errantry ceased to amuse the rich and idle. Every reader spent his time over the Bible. Nor did any circumstance act so unfavourably upon the Romish cause, as this free circulation of Scripture, so tardily and unwillingly granted. Men are seldom inclined to admit their ignorance, unless in excuse for some transgression. When, accordingly, they began to examine the Sacred Volume, they were stricken, not with the difficulty of understanding it, but with the difficulty of finding in it the dis-

tinguishing features of Popery. Nor did they doubt, that to guard the people against such a surprise as this, was the true reason why Romish priests were so careful to lock up Scripture in an unknown tongue.

In 1540, a new edition of the Bible was published under royal authority, with a preface written by Archbishop Cranmer. Of this work every parish was bound, under a heavy penalty, to provide a copy. The Scriptures were now quickly dispersed over the whole kingdom. Six Bibles were chained to desks in different parts of St. Paul's cathedral, in London. One desk so furnished was to be seen in most churches. Around these desks was commonly gathered a throng of eager listeners. All who could read thus acquired a degree of importance in the public eye which had never been attributed to them before. There were, indeed, persons, even advanced in life, who now busied themselves in learning to read; being unwilling to depend for a due share of that heavenly knowledge and consolation which at length had visited all parts of the land, upon the chances of meeting with such as had been taught the art of using books. The general attention thus bestowed upon Scripture was a blow from which English Popery never recovered. Of its ruinous operations upon their principles the Romanists were fully sensible, and accordingly, they never gained a political advantage without endeavouring to put some restriction upon

the English Bible. Bishop Gardiner, at one time, laboured to have Scripture published with Latin words mingled among the English ones, pretending, that the vulgar tongue was unsuited for conveying a due sense of many terms used by the sacred writers. This artful proposition was overruled. But the Romish party succeeded, after some time, in obtaining the King's authority to withhold the Bible from the humbler classes. Happily this object was gained too late for the purposes of those who sought it. A large proportion of the people had already learnt what parts of the established religion were supported by Scripture, and what parts of it were unrevealed in the record of God's Word.

ing so able an instructor for his children, gave him the rectory of Lymington, in Somersetshire. When Wolsey went down to take possession of this benefice, his proneness to levity and vicious indulgence appears to have betrayed him into some signal indiscretion: Sir Amias Paulet, one of the neighbouring gentry, having placed him in the stocks. But although Wolsey never forgave the knight for thus exposing him, his future rise was not impeded by the disgrace. On the contrary, fortunate introductions, an excellent address, uncommon abilities, and unwearied perseverance, rapidly raised him from one preferment to another. At the late king's death he was Dean of Lincoln, and royal almoner. On the present king's accession he soon became a distinguished favourite at court. His temper and habits, indeed, were joyous and convivial; qualities which could scarcely fail of gaining upon the affections of a prince in the prime of youth. He possessed that taste for magnificence, and that graceful courtesy of manner, which, being usual among persons of elevated rank, are looked for by them in such as are admitted into their society. He advised his youthful sovereign to indulge freely in those pleasures, which the princely station, and the hoards of a parsimonious father placed so temptingly within his reach. These recommendations being attended by great talents for business, and a strict attention to it, Henry soon found the almoner indispensable to him, both as a man of pleasure

restoring the Pope to the privileges which he *had* been used to enjoy, would not fail of occurring before many years should glide away. In furtherance, as it might seem, of this artful policy, the bishops of well-known Romish principles came forward, not less readily than such of their order as desired farther alterations in the Church, and solemnly renounced the Pope by oath.

Englishmen, however, were not emancipated from that foreign power, which had so long domineered over their Church, without witnessing some of those unhappy scenes which always attend revolutions. The first who suffered in the Pope's cause were certain monks of the Charter-house. These misjudging men had worked themselves up into a fanatical conceit, that they were obliged to maintain the papal supremacy under penalty of forfeiting salvation. Having instilled this treasonable folly into the minds of such as came to them for confession, it was found necessary to bring some of them to trial. Conviction followed, and nine of the guilty monks, together with an ordinary clergyman, were executed as traitors, on three several days. About the same time fourteen Anabaptists from abroad were burnt as heretics. Cruelty is always inexcusable. But it should be known, as a means of accounting for Henry's persecution of these unhappy foreigners, that the Anabaptists had lately given just cause for disgust and apprehension in Germany. Some of their body had overthrown

for a time the governments under which they lived, and had given way, while power was in their hands, to unbridled lust and shameful excesses. It might seem, however, that the King did not authorise all these horrid executions without great reluctance. He became careless of his person, and appeared to feel severely the hardship of being the instrument through which so many men, guiltless of any such crime as the executioner ordinarily punishes, were dragged to untimely and miserable ends.

Amidst these executions of less remarkable persons, John Fisher, the learned and exemplary Bishop of Rochester, perished upon a scaffold. This eminent prelate was born at Beverley, in Yorkshire, where his father was a wealthy trader. He completed his education at Cambridge, an university of which he was at one time the chancellor. In early life he had acted as confessor to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry VII. This appointment led him to the bishopric of Rochester, which he filled more than thirty years, having twice refused to exchange it for a richer see. As a bishop, his conduct was blameless, until the time of Elizabeth Barton's imposture. That unhappy woman had once been subject to hysterical fits, and had been used, while suffering under them, to utter various incoherent speeches, which ignorant people around her took for revelations from heaven. At length

she got the better of this disorder; but before her recovery was generally known, a dishonest clergyman persuaded her to counterfeit, for a time, the siezures to which she had been liable. His object in this was to fill his own pockets by means of an image in his parish, to which Barton, in one of her pretended fits, was to attribute the power of working miracles. This wickedness proving completely successful, led, as usual, to farther crimes. Barton formed an unlawful intimacy with certain unworthy priests, and regularly uttered, at their bidding, such language as suited their purposes. Her profligate advisers represented these speeches as revelations from above; and the abused people readily believed their word. During the progress of Henry's quarrel with Rome, this wretched female was instructed to support the Pope's tottering cause by means of pretended prophecies. Two papal agents now lent their countenance to her impostures; and hence the government was obliged, for its own sake, and for that of the public peace, to expose her iniquitous proceedings. She and her infamous advisers were taken into custody, and being convicted of the crimes laid to their charge, they suffered the penalty of death. While their iniquity was yet undetected, Bishop Fisher allowed the pretended prophetess to impose upon him. As her fancied revelations were in favour of the cause which the bishop was anxious to maintain, his attention to her was more than ordinarily

injurious to his reputation. Besides being a proof of weakness, perhaps arising from the decaying faculties of old age, it afforded some ground for a suspicion, that he was not more cautious, because he desired men generally to believe in the truth of Barton's pretensions to inspiration. The Bishop, now in the seventy-seventh year of his age, had been committed to the Tower for denying the King's supremacy; and he would, probably, have been allowed to sink silently into the grave, had not the Pope rashly created him a cardinal. When the venerable prisoner heard of his unwelcome promotion, he said, with a contempt of worldly vanities, becoming in all men, but especially so in those who have reached the ordinary span of human life, "If a cardinal's red hat intended for me were lying at my feet, I would not stoop to pick it up." But however indifferent Fisher might feel to the papal compliment, Henry's government could not look upon it with unconcern. It was an evidence of the Pope's disposition to encourage Englishmen in opposing the royal supremacy. Hence it was thought expedient to put the venerable Bishop upon his trial for his denial of this prerogative to his native prince. Being convicted of the offence laid to his charge, he was led, within a few days, to execution.

Much to his servant's surprise, he caused himself to be dressed, on the last morning of his life, with a care that had long been unusual with him.

"My Lord," said the man, "surely you forget, that, after the space of some two hours, you must strip off these things, and never wear them more!" "What of that," replied the venerable prisoner; "dost thou not mark that this is my wedding-day?" Thus gladdened by the prospect of a speedy end to his sufferings, he was carried in a chair to the fatal spot. In his hand he held a New Testament; upon which turning his eye, he prayed rather superstitiously, that in opening it at random, he might light upon a passage suited to his present circumstances. The success of his prayer was remarkable; the following text being that which offered itself to his notice. "And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent. I have glorified Thee on earth; I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do." When he had read these words, he shut the book with this observation: "Here is learning enough for me to my life's end." Having reached the scaffold, his infirmities appeared to forsake him, and he went up the steps without any help. Before he laid his head upon the block, he declared, in a short address to the people around, that he came to die for the faith of Christ's holy Catholic Church. Then, after spending a short time at his prayers, he meekly submitted to the executioner, who severed the head from his body with a single blow of the axe. Thus, with a constancy worthy of a better

fate, and a better cause, did this aged prelate finish his earthly course.

It was hoped that this execution would have shaken the resolution of another illustrious person, then imprisoned in the Tower. Sir Thomas More was the son of a judge, and born in London. A good introduction, uncommon abilities, and unblemished morals, brought him forward in early life. On Cardinal Wolsey's dismissal, he was made Lord Chancellor; and he held that important situation until he found himself called upon to renounce the papal supremacy. This length he was not prepared to go, his mind being possessed with very strong prejudices in favour of the religious opinions in which he had been bred. He therefore gave up the chancellorship, and withdrew into private life. In his retirement he was summoned, under an act of Parliament lately passed, to admit the King's supremacy upon oath. Refusing to do this, he was committed to the Tower. Upon the death of his friend and fellow-prisoner, Bishop Fisher, he was again besought to take the oath prescribed by law. But More continued steadfast to his principles, and he was accordingly brought to trial. Sufficient evidence against him having been obtained, he was necessarily convicted, and soon afterwards he was ordered for execution. He had always been remarkable for a firm and cheerful temper; and these qualities attended him to the last. In his way to

the scaffold, an unfeeling spectator upbraided him with a decree which he had made when chancellor. Sir Thomas answered him, "If I had it to do now, I would do the same again." When at the bottom of the steps, he said to one of the bystanders, "Friend, help me up; when I come down again, let me shift for myself." Before the fatal moment had arrived, the executioner, according to custom, knelt down before him, and asked his forgiveness. He gaily replied, "Thou hast it with all my heart; but thou wilt get no credit by cutting off my head; my neck is so short." To the same person he said also, while in the act of preparing for the stroke of death, "Stay till I have laid aside my beard; for that never committed treason." Perhaps some of these pleasantries were scarcely suited to such a time; but they were undeniable proofs of the sufferer's firmness. Nor can any one think without regret, that a man so well qualified to serve the public, and to spread good humour among his private friends, should have been sent to an untimely grave, because he could not shake off a notion with which he had grown up, that an Italian bishop had a right to meddle in the concerns of England.

No sooner did accounts of these executions reach Rome than the papal court outstepped all the bounds of decency. A bull was issued admonishing the King of his alleged faults, in divorcing Catharine, in marrying Anne, in making laws

against the Pope's authority, and in punishing those who refused to obey them. If these things were not speedily altered, Henry, with all his abettors, were cited to appear at Rome within ninety days; which, if they should neglect to do, they were all declared to be excommunicated; the King was to be dethroned, divine service was to cease throughout his kingdom, the issue of Anne was pronounced illegitimate, all commerce with foreign states was forbidden, all treaties with them annulled; the clergy were ordered to depart out of the country, the nobility were charged to take up arms against their sovereign. As such infamous bulls had been issued by Popes several times before, it is no wonder that well-informed and cautious Romanists were anxious to hide Scripture from the people.

The Pope's attempt to stir up riot and bloodshed in England, was, however, very little likely to succeed unless by means of the monks. To these persons, accordingly, Henry's government now turned its attention. The origin of monks is to be sought among certain Christians, living in the third century, who withdrew into the wildernesses around Egypt, partly for the sake of religious meditation, partly for the sake of escaping from their heathen persecutors. Their conduct was highly applauded among the more strict or gloomy professors of the Gospel, and many soon imitated them in forsaking the crowded city for the lonely hermitage. At the

end of a few years these recluses began to form bodies of men living together under certain rules, and before the fourth century was over, such societies found their way into the West. In the sixth century, Benedict, an Italian of humble birth, but of great learning, and remarkable strictness of life, drew up rules to which all the western monks by degrees conformed; thus forming themselves into one body, which soon fell completely under the Pope's direction. Benedict's system was introduced into England in the tenth century by Dunstan, an able and artful man, who failing to make his fortune as a courtier, turned monk, and became Archbishop of Canterbury. In the course of years other monks, besides the followers of Benedict, arose, and also various orders of friars; a kind of persons bound, like the monks, by vows, but differing from them inasmuch as they professed to live by begging. All these monks and friars owned obedience to particular heads, called generals, one general being named for each order, and all these generals lived at Rome under the Pope's eye. Each order was, therefore, a confederacy or combination moving according to the papal will, and the whole body of monks and friars has been aptly called the Pope's militia. To these persons it was mainly owing that Popery had taken root in England, as in other countries, and there seemed no reasonable hope of bringing the people completely back to the religious principles of their early fore-

fathers until the spirit of the monkish orders should be thoroughly broken.

The way by which it was sought to reach this end, was to order a general visitation of monasteries. These abounded in all parts of England; and it was not doubted, that an unsparing inspection of them would bring to light a disgusting picture of abuse and immorality. Hence men might plainly see that they had given credit to monks and friars for a degree of holiness to which these persons had really very slender pretensions. Thus it happened. In many of these religious houses, as they were called, was found the most infamous prevalence of lewdness and debauchery; and although several monastic communities were commended by the visitors for good conduct, yet the whole visitation left a very unfavourable opinion of monkery upon the public mind. As the smaller monasteries made the worst figure under this enquiry, all houses, possessing an income of not more than two hundred pounds a year, were quickly suppressed by act of Parliament. Three hundred and seventy-six convents fell by this blow. Of the monks, friars, and nuns thus disturbed, such as desired it, were settled in some one of the larger monasteries; others, who were weary of a monkish life, were provided with a sufficient sum of money, and allowed once more to mingle with the world.

The hopes of a farther reformation in the Church, which the fall of the smaller monasteries had en-

couraged, were soon afterwards mournfully damped by the troubles of Anne Boleyn. Catharine of Aragon died at Kimbolton, after a lingering illness, on the 8th of January, 1536. Before her departure, she dictated a kind and pious letter to the king, whom she addressed as her "most dear lord, king, and husband." When Henry received this last proof of a once-loved wife's affection, he was moved even to tears. His consort Anne could not be expected to feel concern at a rival's death; but it would have become her to wear for a time an appearance of decent sorrow. She seems, however, to have rather overlooked this just demand upon her, and to have shewn her satisfaction at the removal of one whom many thought much better entitled to the throne than herself. But this exultation speedily passed away. The king's affection for her was beginning to decline, and an unfortunate accident, which happened about this time, entirely estranged him from her. Anne, suddenly agitated, it is said, from an alarming fall received by her husband in hunting, was prematurely delivered of a still-born male child. Thus were Henry's cherished hopes again dashed to the ground; and superstition whispered in his ear, that his second marriage, like the former one, was contracted under circumstances displeasing to heaven. A passion which he had conceived for Jane Seymour, a young lady from Wiltshire, who was maid of honour to the Queen, increased, probably, his

impatience under his connexion with Anne, and he became evidently ripe for such a quarrel with her as never could be healed. Probably Anne's habits and disposition prepared the way for her fall. Gay and buoyant in spirits, of quick intelligence, and upright intentions, her manners appear to have been unreserved, her conversation shrewd and sprightly. To a lover, a beautiful mistress, thus gifted, could hardly fail of being attractive: but such a woman might want the pliancy of temper, without which she would have little chance of retaining permanently the kind regards of a capricious and overbearing husband. An unguarded freedom of manners and conversation is, indeed, seldom unattended with danger, unless it is controuled by a very unusual degree of kindness and discretion. By Henry, the easy manners of his wife seem to have been viewed as a proof of her little affection for him; an unhappy notion, which was eagerly encouraged by those who envied Anne on account of her elevation, or who hated her as the patroness of a religion which aimed to supersede their own. To these, her enemies, she constantly afforded new opportunities of aggravating the king's disgust, by her careless gaiety of heart, and her open frankness of disposition. Too late the miserable Queen felt her husband's alienation, and strove by conciliating attentions to rekindle his once ardent love. The fire of jealousy that raged within his breast had, however, been fed too long: and in sullen dis-

satisfaction he remained upon the watch for some incident which might seem conclusive of his consort's guilt.

The festivities by which, according to the habits of the age, the first of May was celebrated, produced the fatal explosion. The court was then at Greenwich, and a tournament was to find amusement for the day. In this sport, the principal actors were Viscount Rochford, the Queen's brother, and Norris, groom of the stole, an officer for whom the king had entertained a great regard. To her brother, Anne was much attached; and, as both from his situation, and from Henry's friendship for him, Norris was necessarily well known to her, it is probable that she had been observed to treat him with that easy good-nature which she seems to have shewn in her intercourse with all those whom she esteemed. Upon her demonstrations of kindness towards these two persons, rumours injurious to her fame appear to have been founded. It was Lord Rochford's misfortune to live upon ill terms with his wife; who now indulged her animosity by declaring him guilty of an incestuous commerce with the Queen. While this monstrous charge was obscurely creeping through the palace, the finger of calumny cautiously marked Norris as another of Anne's paramours. Such vile tales never grope their dark and crooked course without accumulating at every turn new features of aggravation. Whispers, accordingly, soon were heard

imputing to the calumniated Queen a criminal intercourse with others who had been so unfortunate as to be admitted into her presence. It was while the envenomed shafts of slander flew thus thickly around her, that Anne, unconscious of her danger, appeared once more in public, surrounded by the splendours of royalty. Nothing could be more likely to aid on that fatal day the machinations of her enemies, than that two of those who were said to be partners of her guilt, should naturally upon this occasion have engrossed the whole of her attention. Such a woman as Anne would not fail to discover a lively interest in the exertions of the combatants to win her approbation; nor, at that critical time, was it likely that any favouring word, or even look, should have been either unregarded, or fairly interpreted. Haunted as was Henry's mind by suspicions of his wife's fidelity, it was certain that his attention would be riveted upon her conduct, and it was barely possible, that the spectatress of feats performed by a valued brother, and a gallant gentleman of her acquaintance, should not have shewn that interest in the sport which would afford to a jealous eye full confirmation of all that rumour had detailed. As might be expected, therefore, the King soon fancied that he had seen enough to prove the lightness of Anne's character. Suddenly he left the balcony in which he had been sitting, less, probably, in expectation of amusement from the sport, than of receiving from the conduct

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HAVING arrived within the walls of her prison, she fell upon her knees, beseeching God to help her, and protesting herself guiltless of the crimes imputed to her. A violent agitation now came over her; bitter tears and wild laughter following each other in a hurried and unmeaning manner. At length, she became composed, and religion shed its healing influence over her wounded spirit. She expressed a wish to be visited by some of the divines who had risen in the Church by means of her influence, and suspecting that she had not long to live, she declared her confident hope of soon becoming a saint in heaven.

About the time of Anne's imprisonment, Rochford and Norris, together with Brereton and Weston, two gentlemen of the King's chamber, and Smeton, a musician, were taken into custody: all charged with being her paramours. This imputation was indignantly repelled by the four gentlemen. Norris met it by saying, "In my conscience, I believe the Queen innocent; and I would rather die a thousand times than wrong a guiltless woman." But Smeton, probably from the hope of gaining favour with the King, was wrought upon to make some such confession as the tools of power desired. Norris too, Anne was informed, had thus blasted her reputation. She received this false intelligence from Lady Rochford, her sister-in-law, a person whom she notoriously disliked; but who was now appointed to sleep in her cham-

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of his wife evidence irresistible of her guilty interest in the combatants. It has been said, that Anne dropped a handkerchief, and that one of the gentleman engaged, taking it up, wiped his face with it. Nothing, however, is certainly known respecting Henry's hasty departure, beyond the fact, that he withdrew in manifest displeasure. The Queen remarked his conduct with great uneasiness. She followed him into the palace, but it was too late to see him. He had hastily taken horse, and ridden to Westminster, with only six attendants. Thither Anne would fain have followed him; but he had left orders, that she was not to quit her apartments. She passed the night and following morning in apprehension and perplexity. In the afternoon she resolved upon making an attempt to see her husband, and with an aching heart, she embarked on board her barge, ordering the rowers to make the best of their way towards Westminster. She had not proceeded far up the river, before the Duke of Norfolk, with some other members of the council, came on board, and produced an order for her committal to the Tower. In her way to that ancient fortress, she earnestly begged for an interview with the King, and being informed of the charges against her, she vehemently declared herself to have been foully wronged: expressing, at the same time, her firm persuasion, that if her husband would only see her, she would soon convince him of her innocence.

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her; most probably with a view of glean-
ing from her discourse some such matter as might form use-
ful evidence upon her trial. Anne had never been
over-cautious in conversation, and she now seems
to have thought that candour might mollify the
King, or at all events restrain him from withdraw-
ing his affection from their infant daughter. Al-
though, therefore, she firmly resisted the imputa-
tion of unfaithfulness to her marriage-vow, she
made admissions, which prove, that high spirits had
sometimes led her to indulge in a kind of rail-
lery little to be commended in any rank, but especially
unbecoming in a queen. She had condescended to
enquire of Norris, why his marriage was put off so
long? "Madam," he replied, "I shall tarry yet
some time." She then said; "You look for dead
men's shoes; for if aught come to the King but
good, you look to have me." He answered, "If
I have any such thought, I would that my head
were cut off." This becoming speech might seem
to have something mortified Anne's vanity; for
after saying to Norris, "I can undo you if I please,"
she left him in displeasure. As for Smeton, she
declared, that he never was in her apartment, ex-
cept once at Winchester, when he was admitted for
the purpose of performing upon the virginals.
"After that time," she added, "I never saw him
until the Saturday before May-day, when I ob-
served him standing in the bow-window of my pre-
sence-chamber. I then asked him, why look ye

so sad? It is no matter, he replied. I said in turn, a person of your condition must not expect me to speak unto you as if you were a nobleman. No, no, Madam, he rejoined, a look suffices me: and thus fare you well." She admitted also, that Weston having lately attributed Norris's assiduous attendance upon her to admiration of her beauty, she remarked that he himself preferred one of her relations to his own wife. "Ah! Madam," he replied, "there are ladies in this house whom I love far better than either my wife, or your Grace's kinswoman." Anne indiscreetly asked: "Pray, who are they?" "Yourself, Madam;" was the answer. "Nay, then," she said, "I defy you." Against Lord Rochford no charge has reached posterity, except the trifling fact, that he was once observed leaning upon his sister's bed before she had risen from it. Indeed from all the particulars of this unhappy case which remain on record, it is impossible to fix upon Anne's character the stain of moral guilt. Her brief career of splendour was unquestionably shaded by vanity and indiscretion. She was delighted to observe, that the generality of men paid homage to those charms which had raised her to a throne; and nature had not formed her for concealing the satisfaction that she felt. But these pardonable faults appear to have been the sole blemishes of her character, and her untimely death, accordingly, has generally been thought as base a legal murder as ever disgraced a Christian country.

Cranmer, however, seems to have been the only of Anne's former friends who attempted any thing in her behalf. As if afraid of encountering the Archbishop's personal arguments and intreaties, Henry sent an order, that he should remain at Lambeth, immediately on the Queen's committal to the Tower. Being thus forbidden the royal presence, it was only by means of writing that Cranmer could hope to serve the unfortunate Anne. He penned, accordingly, a letter to the King, in which religious advice and consolation were mingled with expressions of surprise at the charges now brought against a lady of whom he had long entertained a high opinion. Anne herself, also wrote an admirable letter to her enraged husband, in which she protested her innocence, imputed her present sufferings to Henry's love for another, and demanded a fair trial. Even in this last respect, however, the unhappy Queen seems to have been disregarded. She was tried, together with her brother, within the Tower, in the presence of but few spectators, and by a portion only of the House of Lords. She had no counsel, but her defence, though short, was such as to convince the spectators, that she would be acquitted. Upon what grounds this expectation was disappointed is unknown; the particulars of this memorable trial being lost. Both the prisoners, however, were found guilty, and received sentence of death; Anne being doomed to be burnt or beheaded at the

King's pleasure. When she heard herself thus devoted to a miserable end, she raised her hands to heaven, and vehemently exclaimed, "O Father! O Creator! Thou, who art the way, the truth, and the life, thou knowest, that I have not deserved this death." Then turning to her judges, she said, "My Lords, I will not say, that your sentence is unjust, nor presume, that my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of you all. I believe, that you have reasons and occasions of suspicion and jealousy upon which you have condemned me; but they must be other than have been produced here in court; for I am entirely innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot ask pardon of God for them. I have always been a faithful wife to the King. I have not, perhaps, at all times, shewn him that humility and reverence which his goodness to me, and the high honour bestowed by him upon me did deserve. I confess, that I have had fancies and suspicions of him, which I had not strength nor discretion enough to manage; but God knows, and is my witness, that I never failed otherwise towards him: and I shall never confess any other at the hour of my death. Do not think, that I say this on design to prolong my life. God hath taught me to know how to die, and he will fortify my faith. Do not think, that I am so carried in my mind, as not to lay the honour of my chastity to heart. Of this I should make small account now in my extremity, if I had not

maintained it my whole life long, as much as ever queen did. I know, that these my last words will signify nothing, but to justify my honour and my chastity. As for my brother, and those others who are unjustly condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths to deliver them: but since I see it so pleases the King, I must bear with their death; and shall depart with them out of the world, under an assurance of leading with them an endless life in peace." Having uttered these words with a serene and dignified countenance, she respectfully departed from the court.

Three days before, Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton had been brought to trial in Westminster-hall. The musician pleaded guilty, the three gentlemen put themselves upon their defence. They were, however, convicted, and together with Smeton, sentenced to die as traitors. Five days after this, all of them, as also the Viscount Rochford, were led to execution. The young peer, together with Norris, Brereton, and Weston, were beheaded on Tower-hill. They behaved with great propriety, but died protesting their innocence of the charge which had brought them to the scaffold. Smeton, probably on account of his inferior rank, underwent the more ignominious punishment of hanging. When arrived at the fatal tree, he merely admitted, that he had deserved to die; a doubtful declaration which disappointed many people; especially the disgraced Queen. Anne

justly considered, that the least reparation which this unhappy person could make to her, was plainly to avouch her innocence before he left the world.

On the very day of these executions Anne was harassed by the trying of a suit to annul her marriage. Attempts had been already made to effect this by means of her old lover, Percy, now become, by his father's death, Earl of Northumberland. It was alleged, that he had been affianced to Anne, and that, therefore, her espousals with the King were invalid. But Northumberland solemnly swore, taking the Sacrament at the same time, that he never had contracted any such engagement. Evidence against her unhappy nuptials was now sought from Anne herself; and she consented to supply it. Her spirits were probably broken by the miseries which she had lately undergone: she might still cling to the hope of life, or feel anxious, at all events, to escape the horrors of a death by fire: she could not fail of yet desiring to conciliate the King, if it were only for her infant daughter's sake: and she was aware, that if her marriage was pronounced invalid, the charge of adultery could no longer be supported against her. When, accordingly, the court met, a proctor, on Anne's part, admitted, that there existed certain true and lawful impediments to her marriage. What these impediments were is unknown; but being confessed by Anne, it is plain, that the judge was obliged to

give sentence accordingly. This distressing duty fell upon Cranmer, as archbishop of the province in which the alleged illegal marriage had been contracted. He was assisted, upon this occasion, by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Oxford and Sussex, Cromwell, Secretary of State, and other members of the privy council. With the concurrence of these distinguished persons, and under the advice of eminent lawyers, the Archbishop pronounced, that the marriage between Anne and the King was null and void from the first.

Henry was now legally at liberty to marry the new object of his affections. But his heart appears to have been yet unsoftened, and accordingly, within three days after the annulment of her marriage, Anne was led to execution, on a scaffold within the Tower. Having piously prepared herself for death, she rose early on the fatal morning, under expectation of a speedy close to all her earthly trials. Nor could she refrain from expressing herself somewhat disappointed, when informed by Kingston, lieutenant of the Tower, that her spirit would not be released until mid-day. "I had thought," she said, "to have been dead before that time, and past my pain." "Madam," he replied, "you will find it no pain." She then spanned her neck, and laughed heartily, observing, "the executioner, I hear, is most expert, and my neck is very small." Kingston was astonished to see such a flow of spi-

rits in one who was upon the verge of eternity. Anne, however, maintained her cheerfulness to the very last. When brought out to suffer, her brow was unclouded, and her beauty had never appeared to greater advantage. Among those who looked upon such a woman, thus advancing to the brink of an early and unhonoured grave, a violent burst of grief arose. But Anne checked these tears and sobs, mildly saying; "Be not sorry to see me die thus; only pardon me from your hearts for having often omitted to use the gentleness that became me, and to do all the good that lay in my power." She then addressed the spectators in general to the following effect: "Good Christian people, I am come hither to die according to the law, and therefore I say nothing against my fate. I am come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I myself have been accused, and for which I have been compelled to lose my life. I pray God save the King, and send him long to reign over you: for a gentler, and more merciful prince was there never. To me he was ever a gracious sovereign, a good and gentle lord. As to my case, if any man will meddle with it, I require him to regard it in a favourable light. With these words I take my leave of the world, and of you all: only adding, that I heartily desire your prayers." Having thus given utterance to her parting sentiments, she continued for a while engaged in prayer. Then, without manifesting the least apprehension, she pre-

pared, with the assistance of her attendants, for the stroke of death. Her neck being bared, she calmly laid it upon the block; at the same time saying, "To Christ I commend my soul." The executioner was furnished with a sword, and by a single effort, he severed her head from the body. Even her remains were treated with indignity, the headless trunk being cast into an elm chest, made for containing arrows, and immediately buried in the Tower chapel.

Thus perished, in the thirtieth year of her age, a woman who had experienced the vicissitudes of fortune more fully than any one of her sex, hitherto recorded in English history. With the exception of Elizabeth Woodville, Edward the Fourth's queen, Anne Boleyn was the only female, not of royal blood, whom any of our monarchs, since the Conquest, had raised to share his throne. While thus unusually exalted, Anne discovered qualities which reflect the highest honour upon her memory. Such was her humility, that she required her chaplains plainly and freely to admonish her of any thing in her conduct which they might think to require amendment. Her charity almost exceeded her means; little short of fifteen thousand pounds having been distributed by her in alms within three quarters of a year. Nor will the great bulk of Englishmen deny, that their forefathers were greatly indebted to this unhappy queen for her patronage of the Reformation. Ample justice has, indeed,

been generally rendered to her character. Henry himself had no sooner sacrificed her to his rage and inconstancy, than he furnished to every discerning mind a very strong reason for doubting the propriety of her sentence. Within three days of her untimely end, he married her rival, Jane Seymour. A farther testimony to his cruelty in Anne Boleyn's case is said to have been wrung from him by the near approach of death : his conscience then upbraiding him severely with this crying abuse of the royal authority.

Happily for England the miserable fate of its royal patroness was not allowed to stay the progress of the Reformation. Within a few weeks of Anne's execution a summary of religious instruction was published by authority, of which the tenour was conformable to the principles adopted by Luther's disciples in Germany. Cromwell, also, who now held the supreme direction of ecclesiastical affairs, with the title of Vicar-general, issued a body of injunctions, in which several Romish superstitions were forbidden. These things, joined to the suppression of the smaller monasteries, which went steadily forward, occasioned much disappointment among the more bigoted Romanists ; who now saw, that the late queen's fall was far from likely to repair the damage which their system had received. While the people generally were fully occupied, this prevailing discontent led only to angry conversations, but no sooner had the close of the har-

rest spread greater leisure over the country, than many districts became ripe for some serious disturbance. The first explosion took place in Lincolnshire, where Dr. Mackrel, lately prior of Barlings, a monastery now suppressed, disguised himself as a mechanic, and under the name of Captain Cobler, appeared as the commander of a considerable assemblage. Against these misguided men the Duke of Suffolk was immediately sent with a body of troops, and he soon succeeded, without any bloodshed, in persuading them to disperse. In Yorkshire, government found a much more difficult task. In that county, Aske, a bold man, of some property, who had been bred to the law, took the field at the head of a very numerous insurgent force. His enterprise was called *A Pilgrimage of Grace*. Priests bearing crosses led the van-guard of his army: his colours shewed, on one side, a figure of the crucified Redeemer; on the other, of the consecrated wafer and chalice: on the sleeves of his followers were wrought the five wounds, with the name of Jesus inserted in the midst of them. All who joined him were required to swear, that they did not enter upon the pilgrimage with any selfish views; but only for the sake of truly serving the King, of removing evil councillors from about him, of allaying popular discontent, of testifying a trust in the cross and faith of Christ, of restoring the Church, and of suppressing heresy. These artful professions procured recruits for Aske from

most parts of the North, which was generally peopled by an ignorant and warlike race of men, violently prejudiced against the Reformation. He was enabled, accordingly, to take some fortified places, and he soon found himself strong enough to determine upon advancing to the southward. At Doncaster, he met the royal forces, but their numbers were so much inferior to his own, that the Duke of Norfolk, who commanded them, was unwilling to face him in the field. Tempestuous weather seconded the noble commander's cautious policy, and the rebels were for some time kept in check without the striking of a single blow. While, however, the men continued thus inactive, the commanders on both sides were busily employed in negotiation. The results of this were, that a general pardon was sent down from the King, and that the insurgents, on receiving it, quietly returned to their respective homes. Aske was now invited to court, and kindly treated there, chiefly with a view of retaining him at a distance from the country which had lately been so alarmingly disturbed under his direction. But he could not wean himself from the love of this dangerous importance. Intelligence reached him in London of new commotions in the North, and he lost no time in proceeding privately to join his old associates. His motions were, however, watched, and being brought back in custody, he was executed as a traitor. The same fate overtook several other leading men among the rebels, and

many persons of inferior rank perished on the field of battle. The government, indeed, was fully prepared to crush the rebellion, when it broke forth anew, and accordingly, the northern counties were soon reduced, after this second explosion, to their ordinary state of tranquillity.

While the rebellion raged, nothing had appeared more plainly, than the rooted enmity of the monastic orders towards the Reformation. Not only had the northern monks industriously fomented the discontent around them, and afforded pecuniary aid to the malcontents ; but also supplies of money had been sent from southern convents to the insurgent leaders. It was hence evident, that nothing would reconcile the conventual bodies to their country's emancipation from Italian bondage ; but that, so long as abbeys should be permitted to rear their heads over the whole country, attempts to restore the Pope's usurped power, and to promote the superstitions encouraged under his authority, would never want powerful abettors in all parts of England. Hence the general suppression of monasteries was thought expedient, and as a preparative for this measure, a new visitation of them was ordered. Fresh instances of monkish depravity, it was not doubted, might be brought to light, and it was calculated besides, that public indignation against convents might be increased by an exposure of the frauds and fooleries upon which they thrived.

Of such shameful devices to pillage an unenlightened nation, the visitors found, indeed, a lamentable abundance in the course of their labours. Eleven monasteries exhibited a girdle, which was said to have been worn by the Virgin Mary. Eight houses pretended to have some of her milk. For the cure of tooth-ache, dupes, with money in their pockets, were invited to visit convents possessed, as it was maintained, of St. Guthlac's bell, and of some felt which had belonged to another such saint. At Canterbury, the monks exhibited a pen-knife, a pair of boots, and a tattered shirt; all of which had belonged, they said, to Archbishop Becket, or St. Thomas of Canterbury, as the Romanists ridiculously call him. Pregnant women used to visit these articles, for the purpose of thereby prevailing upon the supposed saint to pray for them at the time of their delivery. One monastery possessed some coals, saved, it was asserted, from the fire which had once blazed under the gridiron of St. Laurence. In two or three places was preserved St. Ursula's head, as people were told. One house displayed an ear; being the same, according to the monks, that St. Peter cut off from the head of Malchus. In another place wondering devotees were invited to reverence the parings of some man's nails. These were described as having formerly grown upon the fingers or toes of St. Edmund.

From wretched trumpery of this kind, Romish

places of worship are not purged even to the present day. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose, that when the visitors collected and described these relics, as such ensnaring toys are called, public opinion as to their character might be considerably divided. But other frauds and fooleries were exposed, upon which men could not think differently. Among these was a wooden angel with one wing, which flew over, as the story went, with the spear's head that pierced our Saviour's side. In another place was a figure dressed in female attire, holding in one of its hands a candle. This had burnt, it was asserted, during the whole of nine following years, without wasting. The Virgin, however, for it was her whom the image represented, being called upon to witness some falsehood, the ever-burning candle instantly went out. This figure being now publicly undressed, was found to be merely a log, on which were fixed a head and hands. Another figure, ten feet high, which was worshipped as the Virgin at Worcester, was also undressed in public; when greatly to the people's amusement and surprise, it turned out to be the representation of a bishop. At St. Paul's Cross was exhibited an image of our Saviour, brought from Boxley, in Kent, and known there as the Rood of Grace. This was a puppet, which, by means of secret springs, moved its eyes and lips, to the infinite amazement of rustic worshippers. The whole machinery was now shewn to the people

in the course of a sermon preached by Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, upon the profligacy of such devices to cheat and rob mankind. About the same time was burnt under the gallows, upon which an unfortunate friar was hanged, an immense figure brought from North Wales, and called there the *Dar-vel Gatheren*. To this giant-like idol hundreds of misguided country-people had been known to offer in a single day the choicest of their substance, in the hope of thereby escaping in a future state from the punishment of their sins. But of all the impostures now detected, one of the most impudent was found to have been practised at Hales, in Gloucestershire. In a dark chamber of the monastery there, some of our Saviour's blood was preserved, as people were informed, in a phial. Pilgrims flocked from all parts of England to worship before this relic. They commonly remained, however, for a considerable time unsolaced by the sight of that crimson fluid which had occasioned their toilsome journey. They were, indeed, admitted into the far-famed chamber, and the venerated phial was raised before their eyes. But its dark, uncheering hue bore no resemblance to that of blood; and the disappointed gazer learnt with grief, that he had not yet attained the state in which Jesus would vouchsafe to grant him the gratification which he sought. More masses must be paid for, more austerities undergone. The pilgrim having attended to these directions until it was thought unreasonable or imprudent to make

any farther experiments upon his credulity, was once more led into the mysterious chamber, and a bright red hue, beaming from the glassy vessel, consoled him with the conviction, that his journey, his money, and his penances, had not been in vain. A crystal phial, dark on one side, transparent on the other, it was now found by the visitors, had been exhibited to the pilgrims visiting Hales. This vessel was filled by the blood of a duck, changed once in every week. Two priests were entrusted with the secret of managing the phial, and this was the course of their infamous legerdemain. They shewed the bright side in cases where no more was to be expected from the unhappy dupe, the dark side to those whose pockets, it was thought, might be fairly drained a little more completely.

During the progress of disabusing the nation from the frauds of monkery, the gaudy glories of Becket's tomb were wholly swept away. Of all the saints in the Romish calendar, England had been most egregiously befooled under pretence of rendering the honour due to the memory of this unpatriotic enthusiast. Not only was there an annual celebration of the day on which he was assassinated, but also another of the day in which his remains were transferred from their original grave to a splendid shrine. This festival, known as the Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury, crowded that city every year with the deluded vic-

tims of superstition. It was, however, only once in fifty years that monkish avarice and popular folly were completely glutted on the spot where Becket's unpatriotic struggle to place clergymen above the laws of their country had ended in his violent death. A jubilee, lasting for a fortnight, was then celebrated, and misguided pilgrims, deceived by the promise of papal indulgences, flocked to Canterbury from every part of Christendom. At one of these jubilees not less than a hundred thousand infatuated devotees were collected in Canterbury. The prevalence of this delusion during more than three centuries, had rendered Becket's tomb astonishingly rich in those worldly vanities by which Romanists seek to dignify their saints. Even the Virgin, whom Papists ordinarily venerate with honours due to no child of Adam, was neglected by the side of the rebellious and fanatical Archbishop of Canterbury. In one year were offered at her altar 63*l.* 5*s.* 6*d.*; in the next, 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*: while, in the first of these years, 832*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* were offered at Becket's altar; in the second, 964*l.* 12*s.* 3*d.* The first of these two years brought, however, to Christ's altar only 3*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* In the second, the holy founder of our faith, and author of our salvation, was totally overlooked. The splendid gleanings left by an infatuation so long continued, and so widely spread, were now seized by the royal commissioners. The largest gem obtained from this favoured abode of super-

stitution, one presented by Lewis VII., King of France, was set in a ring, and afterwards worn by Henry himself. Besides this, and many other valuables, there was found gold enough to fill two such chests as eight strong men could with difficulty carry out of the church.

Not contented with seizing the wealth accumulated at Becket's tomb, the visitors entered upon an absurd process against the murdered Archbishop, for disloyalty to his sovereign. It was pronounced, that this charge was proved ; and, accordingly, the court ordered his remains to be removed unceremoniously from their magnificent sepulchre. In carrying this sentence into execution, another fraud, practised by the monks of Canterbury, was detected. Among the relics offered in that place to the veneration of pilgrims, was a human skull, the same, it was declared, that had contained the brains of Becket. It was, however, found that his skull lay with the Archbishop's other remains. Besides making this discovery, the visitors deprived a well, over which wondering pilgrims had been used to tell their beads, of the miraculous character which it had long enjoyed. Its waters were red, being rendered so, as people were told, by a portion of Becket's blood which had been mingled with them. It was now ascertained, that this bloody hue of the water proceeded from a composition, which certain monks regularly introduced into the well.

The exposure of so much imposture, profligacy, and folly, amongst the monastic orders, naturally occasioned general disgust, and even rendered these societies themselves not unwilling to relinquish a mode of life which had thus lost its hold upon public opinion. By degrees, accordingly, all of them came forward, of their own accord, as it was professed, and surrendered their houses to commissioners appointed by the crown for that purpose. On leaving their cloisters, the monks were provided with pensions, and a sum of money as an outfit, proportioned to their respective conditions and good conduct. Some of the richer abbots received very handsome provisions; and, indeed, the whole body of the displaced religious were treated equitably, if not liberally. This fact will probably explain why the suppression proved but moderately effective in replenishing the national purse. An immense mass of property was, indeed, surrendered into the King's hands; but it was heavily encumbered; and before the charges upon it had worn out, it had chiefly passed by means of grants and sales from the sovereign to various private individuals. Six of the dissolved abbeys, Westminster, Oxford, Bristol, Gloucester, Chester, and Peterborough, were erected into bishops' sees; all of which yet remain, excepting Westminster, where the bishopric was discontinued after the incumbency of a single prelate. Another judicious appropriation of conventual wealth was

the foundation of Trinity College, in Cambridge. From the suppressed monasteries also, funds were supplied for completing the magnificent chapel of King's College, in the same university. Towards the close of his life, Henry devoted to public uses more property once monastic, founding Christ's and St. Bartholomew's hospitals, in London. He likewise established and endowed several grammar-schools. Had all his appropriations of the wealth derived from convents resembled these, few persons would have questioned the propriety of placing this noble accumulation in his disposal. But unfortunately for his credit, it was with him, as it is with most men. The ease with which his riches were acquired led him to carelessness and profusion. The gratification of his own humours, and the enriching of his rapacious courtiers, were soon allowed, accordingly, to dissipate the bulk of those treasures which the suppression of monasteries had supplied.

Injurious to their cause as the suppression was, the leading Romanists offered no opposition to it. Their policy, indeed, was to surrender without a struggle every question more immediately concerning the Pope. They were thus enabled to keep possession of the King's ear, and to prevent him from adopting thoroughly the reforming views entertained by Cranmer and Cromwell. The most remarkable triumph gained by the Romish party by this artful management, was the passing of the

act of Six Articles. Cranmer offered a strenuous resistance to this iniquitous measure in the House of Lords, but at length, Henry came down to the House in person, and overbore all farther opposition to the bill. Its provisions were, that the denial of transubstantiation should be punishable by burning: and that attacks upon communion in one kind, upon the forced celibacy of clergymen, upon vows of chastity, upon private masses, or upon auricular confession, should render men liable to be hanged as felons. This barbarous act was no sooner passed, than the King's Romish advisers exerted themselves to have it carried into execution; and they did not wholly fail in their object. Certain well-known zealots of their party were commissioned to enquire into such breaches of the statute as had been committed in London. These inquisitors immediately found ample employment. In the course of a fortnight, more than five hundred persons were brought before them. The Romish leaders had not even hoped to find such active agents, and they were much embarrassed by the numbers of victims who had been so quickly provided. To put the whole of them to death was evidently inhuman, and might even provoke some popular commotion: yet it was not easy to make selections. In this dilemma, Audley, the Chancellor, advised that all the pretended criminals should be pardoned. Cranmer, Cromwell, and the Duke of Suffolk concurring in this recommenda-

tion, it was carried into effect. Nor were there any more such attempts to execute the Act of Six Articles, so long as Cromwell continued at the head of Henry's administration.

The Vicar-general's enemies at length, however, succeeded in effecting his ruin. Jane Seymour having lived comfortably with the King during more than a year, died shortly after giving birth to a son. Henry displayed much grief for her loss, and for some time appeared to entertain no thoughts of marrying again. When his inclination to do so was observed to revive, his Protestant advisers naturally strove to furnish him with a queen of their own principles. Their wishes were directed to Anne, sister to the Duke of Cleves, a prince of great influence among the German Reformers. With a view of satisfying himself as to Anne's graces of person, Henry sent the celebrated Holbein, then in his employment, over to the court of Cleves, for the purpose of painting her portrait. An artist of genius rarely fails to discover the materials for a pleasing picture in any subject; and every one employed in taking the likenesses of ladies, is well aware, that he never can give satisfaction without doing something more than justice to the charms of his originals. Holbein, accordingly, was not long in sending to England such a portrait of Anne as convinced the King that her beauty was quite equal to his expectations. A matrimonial treaty was, in consequence, quickly

concluded, and the exulting bride was brought over into our island in a very splendid manner. She had no sooner landed, than Henry's impatience to see her became extreme, and he could not rest contented without going privately to meet her while travelling towards Greenwich. At Rochester he came unexpectedly into her apartment, but her appearance proved so different to the picture of it in his own mind, that he stood for a time, when his eyes first rested upon her figure, mute with surprise and disappointment. His good breeding, however, soon led him to conceal his mortification, and he courteously advanced towards his now unwelcome visitor. Anne immediately knelt; on which, the King gracefully raised her, and saluted her on the cheek. But he could not make up his mind either to give her with his own hands certain presents which he had brought for her, or to travel in her company to Greenwich. He would fain, indeed, after they had both arrived at that place, have been excused from marrying her; under the plea, that she had formerly been affianced to the Prince of Lorraine. This objection being overruled by means of Archbishop Cranmer, and of Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, the reluctant King was obliged to undergo the ceremony of publicly espousing Anne. Still, his disgust remained unabated, and he thought only in secret of expedients for freeing himself from a connexion which he looked upon as destructive of his happiness.

As Cromwell had not only advised this unpalatable marriage, but also steadily endeavoured to conquer Henry's aversion for it, he now naturally lost some portion of the royal favour. Of this, however, there were at first no public indications. On the contrary, honours and emoluments were conferred upon him more liberally than ever. He was made Knight of the Garter, Earl of Essex, and Lord Great Chamberlain; all of them distinctions long confined to ancient families, and, therefore, now represented by the proud and envious mass of men, as if profaned by their descent upon a person of vulgar origin. While such reflections were freely circulating among the people, and receiving at every turn increased asperity from the Romish party's long-entertained abhorrence of the minister, he was called upon to demand from Parliament considerable supplies of money. He succeeded in his object, but it was with extreme difficulty, and the new taxes no sooner became the subject of general conversation, than the measure of his unpopularity was filled up. When Henry became acquainted with this prevailing discontent, the Duke of Norfolk artfully suggested, that it could hardly have arisen had not there been something materially wrong in the details of government. Norfolk then stood unusually high in his sovereign's favour. It had been observed, that the King was far from insensible to the charms of Catharine, daughter to Lord Edmund Howard, and niece to the Duke of

Norfolk. In order to fan the rising flame, Bishop Gardiner invited the King to an entertainment at Winchester-house. Catharine Howard was among the company assembled upon this occasion, and she then achieved the conquest of her amorous sovereign's heart. Her uncle, the Duke, gained by this means an influence in the royal councils to which he had long been a stranger; and he naturally used it for the destruction of Cromwell, both because that minister's continuance in office was injurious to the Romish cause, and would be likely to defeat any plan for divorcing the King from Anne of Cleves. Norfolk, accordingly, was allowed to arrest Cromwell at the council-table on a charge of high treason, and amidst demonstrations of popular satisfaction, the disgraced minister was imprisoned in the Tower. His enemies, however, found themselves unable to bring against him any clear, or important accusations. He was not, therefore, brought to an open trial, but attainted in Parliament as a heretic and a traitor. Vainly did Cranmer write to the King in favour of a servant lately so much trusted and distinguished. Vainly did Cromwell himself make earnest suit for the royal clemency. The King's ears were closed, and his heart was steeled against any supplications in behalf of his once-valued, and highly-meritorious minister. While Cromwell lived, the Romish party, now dominant, could never be sure that a remembrance of the past would not again put his able

services into requisition. He was, therefore, ordered for execution, and being led to a scaffold erected upon Tower-hill, he there met the stroke of death with becoming firmness.

A few days before Cromwell's untimely end, the King's marriage with Anne of Cleves was annulled. That princess had herself consented, and with no great difficulty, that the validity of her espousals should be submitted to the Convocation. Gardiner there, in an eloquent speech, set forth various grounds affecting, as it was maintained, the legality of Henry's connexion with his German bride. A committee was appointed, in consequence, to hear, and to report upon evidence. Before this body was laid a considerable mass of letters and depositions supplied by the King himself, and by several privy councillors, physicians, and ladies. After examining these papers, the commissioners reported that his Majesty had never inwardly consented to the marriage; that he never could have any issue from it; that it would be beneficial to the nation if he were allowed to marry again; that the Lorraine pre-contract had never been satisfactorily explained; and that there were, besides, other causes and considerations calling for a divorce, not necessary to be recited. These reasons, which resolve themselves into Henry's dislike for Anne, and the hopelessness of a family from her, satisfied the Convocation; and it unanimously voted for annulling the marriage under debat of

Parliament immediately ratified this sentence; and, moreover, made it high treason to question its correctness. Henry soon afterwards married Catharine Howard. His discarded wife so far shewed a sense of the unworthy treatment which she had received, that she would not return into her own country. Henry henceforth styled her his adopted sister, and she spent the remainder of her days in England: a pension of three thousand a year, at that time a very liberal income, being assigned for her maintenance.

Catharine Howard exerted herself so successfully to secure Henry's affection, that, at the end of fifteen months from his marriage with her, he publicly, in the chapel royal, returned thanks to God for blessing him with so excellent a queen. So often, however, does Providence humble the vain confidence of man when it has reached its height, that these excesses of self-congratulation have been ordinarily looked upon among the superstitious, as ominous of some reverse. Of such a fatality the more credulous of Henry's subjects could not have failed to consider the next incident in his life a striking exemplification. He had just returned from a progress in the north; and during his absence there, a man, named Lascelles, had called upon Cranmer for the purpose of communicating to him various particulars relating to the Queen's earlier years. From this informant's account it appeared, that Catharine had been rather

notoriously disgraced in youth by a licentious intimacy with some of her grandmother's servants. As it was neither pleasant to disclose, nor safe to conceal, such intelligence, Cranmer, after communicating it to the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Hertford, requested them to join him in laying it before the King. They declined this delicate office; but, at the same time, they fully admitted the necessity of acquainting their master with the statements made by Lascelles. The Archbishop, accordingly, committed his information to writing, and placed the paper containing it in Henry's hands on the very day after his public thanksgiving for his fancied good fortune in marrying Catharine. The King naturally was slow in believing that he had been so grievously duped; and he immediately desired enquiries to be secretly made, in the hope of clearing his consort's character. This hope utterly deceived him; for the parties employed in examining the case quickly found sufficient evidence of Catharine's profligacy before marriage, and even discovered reason for believing that she had not been pure since her elevation to the throne. Upon no occasion had Henry been seen so much affected as while he read the facts collected in the course of this enquiry. For a time he stood, as if lost in thought: at length his rugged nature was no longer proof against the grief which struggled for a vent, and a flood of tears revealed the anguish of his mind. The guilty queen was now

arrested, and examined before Archbishop Cranmer, the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Great Chamberlain, and Bishop Gardiner. In presence of these individuals, she denied the whole of the charges alleged against her. But, before night, she partially retracted this disavowal ; making a full confession to Cranmer of her misconduct before marriage. Soon afterwards, the partners of her early, and of her more recent infamy, were brought to trial. Both pleaded guilty, and were speedily executed ; the first by hanging, the second by beheading. By this latter punishment, Catharine herself perished upon a scaffold within the Tower, deeply contrite for her offences, but, it is said, denying the charge of unfaithfulness as a wife. With her was beheaded the Viscountess Rochford, who had been attainted with her as the confidential abettor of that suspicious intercourse by which Catharine appears to have broken her marriage-vow. Lady Rochford also met her death with great contrition ; but her miserable end was very little pitied. People could not forget that she had recently come forward with monstrous charges against her own husband, and his unhappy sister, Anne Boleyn.

After a widowhood of seventeen months, Henry married for the sixth time. The object of his choice was Catharine, daughter of Sir John Parr, of Kendal, and widow of the Lord Latimer. The new Queen's religious opinions inclined to those of

the Reformers; and as she possessed a considerable share of good sense, she became a domestic ally of some importance to their party. The Romanists accordingly strove to intimidate her, as soon as she was seated on the throne, by raising a persecution at Windsor against various holders of Protestant principles. Considerable success attended this movement; three pious persons being burnt as heretics. It was, however, manifest, that reformed opinions would continue to make their way so long as they were encouraged by the Queen and Cranmer. Hence the leading Romanists became anxious to remove these two personages; and it was generally believed, that some plot, with this intent, was in agitation, under the patronage of Bishop Gardiner. An attempt to bring Cranmer into disgrace and danger, by preferring a charge against him under the Act of Six Articles, before the King in council, proved, at length, that this belief was well founded. Several artful clergymen in the Archbishop's diocese confederated together for the purpose of thus ruining him. Nor was it without great difficulty, and without the King's especial interference in his favour, that he was enabled to baffle the conspirators. When, however, by means of decisive, and somewhat arbitrary measures, the whole plot was unravelled, Gardiner appeared to have been neither ignorant of it, nor unwilling to encourage those who conducted it.

This discovery, probably, occasioned to the

Archbishop no great degree either of surprise, or of concern; but there was another which cut him to the heart. Attached to his household was a civilian named Barber, whom he consulted upon questions of canon-law, and whom he highly esteemed. Another individual whom he often entertained, and whom he always treated in the kindest manner, was Thornden, suffragan of Dover, and prebendary of Canterbury. Both these pretended friends were in his house at Beaksbourn when he received the papers relating to the recent conspiracy, and in it they were found to be deeply implicated. Having perused the proofs of their perfidy, the Archbishop sent for them both into his study, and thus addressed them:—"You twain be men in whom I have had much confidence and trust. You must now give me some good counsel, for I am shamefully abused by one or twain to whom I have shewn all my secrets from time to time, and did trust them as myself. The matter, however, is now so fallen out, that they not only have disclosed my secrets, but also have taken upon them to accuse me of heresy, and are become witnesses against me. I have always used you as my friends, and advised with you when I needed counsel. Tell me, therefore, how should I behave myself towards those who have so much abused me?" Both answered this appeal by loud condemnations of such villainy as that mentioned by their patron. This dissimulation added to the

anguish of Cranmer's mind. He lifted up his hands to heaven, and exclaimed, "O Lord, most merciful God, whom now may a man trust? Most truly hast thou said, Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm. Seldom, surely, hath man been handled like as I am. Yet thou hast raised me up one fast friend, and without his aid I could not stand upright a single day. I praise thy holy name for having thus protected me." Then turning to his perfidious associates, and pulling from his bosom their letters, he said, "Know ye these, my masters?" At the sight, the detected traitors fell instantly upon their knees, and earnestly besought the pardon of their baseness. Cranmer, much affected, desired them to rise, and thus replied: "My forgiveness you have most heartily. Now ask God for his. May he make you better men. I never deserved this treatment at your hands. But if I may not trust such men as you, what profit is my life to me? I perceive that fidelity and truth are not to be expected among men. I shall fear hereafter lest my right hand should accuse my left. But I need not marvel. Our Saviour Christ prophesied, that such would be the condition of the world in the latter days. Pray God, that these days be shortened." The kind Archbishop then gently admonished his false-hearted confidants, and dismissed them from his presence with encouraging language.

Cranmer's enemies, however, although foiled

and exposed, ceased not to think of devices for his ruin; and no sooner had political events given an increase of influence to the Romish party, than he found himself the object of a new conspiracy. The King was informed, that his whole dominions were overrun with heresy, by the Archbishop's means; and it was hinted, that men's minds were becoming so unsettled, as to endanger the public tranquillity. As no prince can be indifferent to the operation of causes which appear to threaten the peace and stability of his rule, Henry listened with some attention to these representations, and enquired, how it was thought advisable to begin an enquiry into Cranmer's conduct? "By committing him to the Tower:" was the reply. To this course, however, Henry objected, as needlessly harsh, and as looking like a pre-judgment of the case. His objections were met by representations that Cranmer had become extremely unpopular, and that many serious accusations would be brought against him; were it not for a general fear of the royal displeasure. But, it was added, if the Archbishop should appear to have lost something of his sovereign's favour, proofs of his unlawful acts would immediately be furnished from a great variety of quarters. Henry at length so far yielded, as to consent that Cranmer should be summoned before the council on the following day, and then committed to the Tower, if the members should deem such a step advisable; Having, however, reflected upon this compliance at

his leisure, the King became uneasy, and about eleven o'clock at night, he sent over to Lambeth, desiring the Archbishop's immediate attendance. The messenger found Cranmer in bed, but he instantly arose, and soon presented himself before his royal master in the gallery of the palace. Henry then related to him the particulars of the application made by his enemies, and after mentioning, that he had actually given them authority to arrest him, he thus concluded; "To all this, what say you, my Lord?" Cranmer warmly thanked the King for acquainting him with this intelligence, and expressed himself indifferent as to the proposed arrest, inasmuch as he could satisfactorily rebut whatever charges might be brought against him. Astonished by this unwary language, Henry said, "What fond simplicity is yours! Do you not know, that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be found to witness against you and condemn you; which else, you being at liberty, dare not open their lips, or appear before your face? No: it shall not be so. I have a better regard unto you, than to permit your enemies to overthrow you thus. Therefore, I will have you to-morrow come to the council; which no doubt will send for you; and when they break this matter unto you, require of them, that, being one of their body, you may be allowed the privilege, which each of them would think reasonable for himself, of being confronted with your ac-

ousers. And if, paying no regard to your allegations or request, they will needs commit you to the Tower; then appeal you from them to our person, and give unto them this my ring, by the which they shall well understand, that I have taken your cause from them into mine own hand. This ring, they well know, I use for none other purpose than as a token, that I mean to call matters from the council, for the sake of ordering and determining them myself." Cranmer thankfully took the ring, and shortly after withdrew to his own abode.

Ignorant of this interview, the council assembled on the following morning, and about eight o'clock a messenger arrived at Lambeth with an order for the Archbishop's attendance. The summons, being expected, was immediately obeyed, and Cranmer soon made his appearance in the ante-room of the council-chamber. Farther he was not allowed to go, and he, therefore, quietly took his seat among the servants, and other persons in attendance upon the members. He remained in this unusual situation about three quarters of an hour, during which time several individuals crossed the room in their way to the inner chamber. While he was thus waiting, Dr. Butts, the royal physician, having first shortly paid his respects to him, was called in to attend the King. "Well, Butts," asked Henry, as he entered, "is there any news stirring this morning?" "Yea, marry," replied the doctor, "very strange news." "Ha! what is that, Butts?" an-

quired the King. "Why, my Lord of Canterbury," was the answer, "is become a lacquey, or a serving man, and hath, to my certain knowledge, been waiting among such folk for more than half an hour at the door of the council-chamber." "So," rejoined the King, "is it thus, that they have treated my Lord of Canterbury? Well, it is no matter; I shall talk unto them by and by."

In the mean while, Cranmer was brought before the board, and informed, that heavy complaints of his heretical proceedings having reached the royal ears, it was his Majesty's pleasure, to imprison him in the Tower, for the purpose of awaiting there the issue of a full enquiry into his conduct. In reply, the Archbishop urged the manifest justice of allowing him to remain at large, until he should have been confronted with his accusers. He was told, however, that a strong case against him had already been made out pretty clearly, and that, therefore, the council saw no reason why he should not be committed immediately. "I am sorry, my Lords," he then said, "that you drive me to such a step; but seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you, I must appeal from your Lordships to his Majesty. This, therefore, I now do; and by the ring which I here produce, it will be seen, that his Highness has reserved my case for his own investigation; and that your Lordships, accordingly, have no farther jurisdiction in this matter." The councillors looked for some time in mute astonish-

ment, first upon the ring, then upon each other. At length Lord Russell, breaking silence, with an oath thus expressed his thoughts: "Did I not tell you, my Lords, what would come of this affair? I knew right well, that the King would never allow my Lord of Canterbury to be imprisoned, unless it were for high treason."

The next step to be taken by the councillors was the delivery of his ring, and of the papers upon which they had been deliberating, to the King in person. Henry thus received the party: "Ah, my Lords, I thought, that I had a discreet and wise council, but I now find, that I have been deceived, How have ye handled here my Lord of Canterbury? What make ye of him? A slave: shutting him out of the council-chamber among serving men? Would ye be so handled yourselves? I would have you well understand, that I account my Lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever prelate was in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe to God." To this uncourtly address, the Duke of Norfolk thus replied: "We meant no manner of hurt unto my Lord of Canterbury when we desired to have him in prison. We only uttered this request in order, that, being found guiltless of the charges brought against him, he might have been set at liberty to his greater glory." The King, however, seemed to hold in no very high esteem such a mode of doing justice to the character of those whom he

valued. "I pray you," he added, "use not my friends so. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice among you one towards another: let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you." Advice from such a quarter was not, at least in appearance, to be rejected. The baffled councillors, accordingly, advanced towards the Archbishop, and offered him their hands. He readily admitted their apologies, and within a few days afterwards, he invited them, by the King's desire, to dine with him at Lambeth.

Upon another occasion, the Romish party made an attempt upon the safety of the Queen. Catharine allowed clergymen of Protestant principles to minister in her apartments, she read books denounced as heretical, her confidential associates were well-known enemies to the papal creed, and she frequently reasoned with her husband upon the propriety of going forward with the Reformation. It is probable, that Henry was far from displeased, during a considerable time, with his wife's fondness for theological conversation. His attention had long been so keenly turned towards religious questions, that he could hardly fail of relishing opportunities of discussing them in his moments of privacy. But political events, at length, rendered him anxious to suspend the progress of reform, and he then became impatient under Catharine's arguments upon the subject. Soon after listening to such discourse, one day, Gardiner had an audi-

ence of him, and the King fretfully observed; "A good hearing it is when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife." This burst of irritability was music in the Bishop's ears, and he eagerly embraced an opportunity, so unexpectedly thrown in his way. Her Majesty's illegal practices, he said, had long been observed with pain by the crown's faithful servants, who had passed them over in silence merely from delicacy towards their royal master. If, however, he added, it were desired to prevent heresy from ending in treason, no time must be lost in stopping the Queen in her dangerous career. Henry, whose vigour of understanding was rapidly sinking under an increasing load of bodily disease, became vexed and uneasy during the progress of Gardiner's artful discourse. At last he declared, that Catharine and her friends ought to be punished for their disobedience to the laws, and he hastily gave some sort of authority for instituting a prosecution against them. This was acted upon immediately, and certain articles of accusation being regularly drawn up by the law-officers, were laid before the King. Henry approved these articles. The person, however, who bore them from his presence, dropped the papers in passing through the royal apartments, and they were carried to Catharine. Having read them, her grief and consternation became so excessive, that she fell into an alarming illness.

Henry had no sooner heard of this than he seems to have relented, and after sending his own physician to attend the agitated Queen, he came in person to pay her a visit. Catharine then expressed herself much concerned at having lately seen so little of his Majesty, and added, that her uneasiness upon this subject was increased by a lurking fear that she had unintentionally given him some offence. This insinuation was parried by some general expressions of kindness; and after an hour's friendly conversation, the King withdrew to his own apartments. Catharine, finding that she had made a favourable impression upon her wayward spouse, and being well aware that no time was to be lost in endeavouring to confirm it, returned his visit upon the following evening, and was very kindly received. Upon this occasion, however, the King contrary to his usage of late, asked his wife's opinion upon some religious question. "Your Highness," she replied, "needs not to be informed, that man was created in the image of God. Hence he is naturally fitted for the contemplation of heavenly things. But as for woman, having been originally formed from man, it is evidently her duty to receive direction in matters of high import from him. Hence any answer of mine to the question which you are pleased to ask is immaterial; since whatever I may say, my judgment at last must be guided wholly by your own." "Not so, by St. Mary," replied the King: "you

are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed or directed by us." "Your Highness," it was good-naturedly replied, "has mistaken me, I fear. It is, indeed, true, that I have often taken the freedom to argue with you upon religious subjects. I have observed, that such matters largely occupy your mind; and I have been anxious not only to converse, but even also to dispute upon these questions, both because I perceived, that, in the heat of discussion, you seemed wholly to forget your infirmities, and because, by drawing forth your abundant stores of information, I doubted not of acquiring much valuable knowledge." Henry was not proof against this. "And is it even so, sweet-heart?" he said: "then perfect friends are we again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine, of thine own mouth, than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He then tenderly embraced his spouse, dismissed her to her own apartment with assurances of his unalterable love, and when she left his presence, he warmly commended to those about him her qualities as a wife.

On the following day, Henry took an airing in the garden, and he sent for the Queen to bear him company there. They were both engaged in cheerful discourse, when the Chancellor, Wriothesley, followed by forty of the guard, made his appearance. The King frowned, and Catharine

withdrew to a short distance, while Wrioththesley approached and knelt before his royal master. Exactly what he said is unknown, but Henry was heard to dismiss him in the following terms; "Knave, fool, beast; avaunt from my presence." The Queen then approaching her husband, who displayed marks of violent agitation, laboured to soothe him by representing that if the Chancellor had given offence, it was most probably not intentionally. "Ah, poor soul," said Henry, "thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. On my word, sweet-heart, he hath been towards thee an arrant knave; and so let him go."

As Gardiner, contrary to his usual crafty practice, had stood foremost in this attack upon the Queen, Henry conceived towards him the most violent disgust. He gave orders that the treacherous prelate should no more be admitted into his presence, and in revising his will, he positively refused to continue him among his executors. Romish influence, indeed, was never at so low an ebb during this reign as near the close of it; and there is reason to believe, that if longer life had been allowed to the king, he would have attended more completely than ever to the suggestions of Cranmer. Unhappily Henry's complete knowledge and consequent detestation of Romish politics led him to disgrace the very last stage of his life by an act of tyrannical cruelty. The Howards, from their

EXECUTION OF THE EARL OF SURREY. [41]

opulence, their royal descent, and the Duke of Norfolk's attachment to Romanism, were the most important noble family in the kingdom. Their power to thwart materially the measures of government during a long minority was undeniable, and there was little reason to doubt, that this power would be exerted to revive the ascendancy of Romish principles. When Henry found his end approaching, he determined to secure his infant heir's tranquillity, and his own ecclesiastical reforms from the dangers with which they were obviously threatened by this powerful family. In one day, accordingly, both Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and his accomplished son, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, were arrested. Against Surrey, the principal charge appears to have been grounded upon his having quartered with his own arms those of Edward the Confessor, without any abatement. This act was tortured into a proof of his anxiety to be considered as the representative of the ancient Saxon kings. His claims from more recent sources were well known, and it was insisted, that he meant to strengthen them by means of a marriage with the Lady Mary. Surrey, however, justified the coat of arms that he had borne by the authority of heralds. But this availed him not, nor did the spirit and ability with which he conducted every part of his defence. A jury of gentlemen found him guilty of high treason, and within a week afterwards he was beheaded on Tower-hill.

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His father had already signed a submission, of which the most material article was an acknowledgement that he had betrayed the King's secrets. He likewise declared that he still retained a complete abhorrence of the papal usurpation. "If I had twenty lives," wrote the aged peer to the council, "I would rather have spent them all against the Bishop of Rome, than that ever he should have any power in this realm." Notwithstanding these concessions, however, Henry continued firm to his purpose, and Parliament proving, as usual, obedient to his will, an act of attainder, passed with indecent expedition, placed Norfolk's life and fortune at the royal disposal. The Duke was ordered for execution on the very morning after the day in which his angry sovereign was thus empowered to deprive him of life. But Henry himself had been summoned away a few hours before the time fixed for his intended victim's violent end, and it did not appear advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the blood of the individual who stood first upon the peerage. A respite was, accordingly, sent to the Tower in haste, and it was never afterwards thought expedient to bring Norfolk to the scaffold. He was, however, detained in prison during the whole of King Edward's reign.

Henry's corpulence had long been growing excessive, and at length he became so unwieldy, that the aid of machinery was required to move him up

and down stairs. To the evils of inactivity were added those of an offensive ulcer in one of his legs, through which the foul humours, which tainted his unhealthy frame, found a vent. Under such complicated bodily ills his constitution was rapidly sinking towards the end of the year 1546, and all about him plainly saw, that life could not linger long. For some time, however, no one of his attendants ventured to speak to him of his danger. At last Sir Anthony Denny told him that he was given over by the physicians, and exhorted him to prepare for his approaching change. The royal patient plainly felt, most probably, that this exhortation had not come before its time, and he received it with that meekness which men commonly manifest under such feelings. "My life," said Henry, "has been sufficiently fruitful in grounds for self-condemnation, but I doubt not, that, through my Saviour's merits, I should obtain the pardon of even greater sins than any that can be laid to my charge." Denny, pleased to hear such Christian-like language from the dying King, then asked him if he wished for the advice and consolation of any learned divine? "If I have any such person," Henry replied, "it shall be the Archbishop of Canterbury." "Shall a messenger go for him immediately?" rejoined the knight. "Let me sleep first;" was the answer; "and again I will think more of this matter." In the course of an hour's time, the King

aroused himself, and ordered that a messenger should immediately be sent off to desire Cranmer's attendance. The Archbishop was then at Croydon, where he had resided during the progress through Parliament of the bill for attainting the Duke of Norfolk. He was no party, therefore, to that measure. When he reached Westminster, in obedience to the royal summons, Henry, though still sensible, was speechless. He firmly grasped, however, the Archbishop's hand in token of his regard. Cranmer then used such exhortations as the urgency of the case allowed, and intreated his fast-sinking sovereign to give him some sign of his firm reliance in the merits of Christ. The King wrung his hands with all the energy that remained to him, and shortly afterwards expired.

It was early in the morning of the 28th of January, 1547, when Henry closed his eyes in death. He was then in the 56th year of his age, and in the 38th of his reign. He lived in a time distinguished by a very remarkable revolution in human affairs, and he has the merit of having taken the safer side of an important question which divided Europe, as it does still, into two great parties. As those articles of belief in which the papal differs from other churches are not to be proved from Scripture, Romish divines have adopted a notion, that various doctrines, indispensable to salvation, had been taught by Christ and his Apostles, which, for some unexplained cause, were not recorded in the

New Testament. These doctrines, it was alleged, have been preserved by a constant stream of tradition in the Roman Church, which has maintained them unchanged from the Apostolic age. The Reformers, however, both denied that the sacred writers were in the least likely to have left any doctrines, indispensable to salvation, unrecorded in the New Testament, and also, that the doctrines, peculiar to Popery, were professed by the Church of Rome, or by any other Church, until several hundred years from the Apostolic age had rolled away. Since this latter denial is supported by an immense mass of evidence which many wise and learned men have pronounced perfectly unanswerable, it is plain, that those who reject unwritten tradition as a ground for articles of faith take the safer side. Henry's mind was no sooner turned to the subject, than he took this side. Nor did he afterwards ever cease to maintain, that God's undoubted Word is the only source of religious knowledge. It is, indeed, true, that his adoption of this principle did not lead him to a thorough reformation of the Church. The force of early prejudices, aided by the unceasing watchfulness of an artful political party, restrained him from such an undertaking. But he, notwithstanding, greatly purified the religious profession of his people. He cleared the country to a very great extent of those wretched images and relics, which plunge the more ignorant and stupid Romanists, of every condition, in ido-

latry and superstition. He forbade and exposed those frauds and delusions, the "lying wonders," of Scripture, which a large proportion of the Romish clergy disgracefully represent as miracles. He freed his kingdom from those monkish abodes which had long been the strong-holds of idleness, fanaticism, imposture, and superstition. He threw off indignantly that intolerable yoke by which the Roman bishops insulted the national independence, and sapped the foundations of public morality. Under his royal authority were published, upon three several occasions, short works for dispensing religious instruction, chiefly founded upon pieces composed by the German Lutherans. He caused the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, to be taught to the people in English, and at length he ordered the Litany to be said in the same language. The most important, however, of his measures for enlightening his people was his authorising an English version of the Bible. He did, indeed, afterwards attempt to restrict the use of that holy book. But streams of light had then flowed from it over every corner of the land, and there was hence no danger of a speedy national return to the thick night of spiritual darkness which had recently prevailed. It is to be lamented, that a prince who rendered so many important services to his country should have brought upon his memory a very heavy load of just reproach. Unhappily, however, he allowed himself to become, in

repeated instances, the tool of his own ill-regulated passions, and of an exasperated faction. Hence those who disapprove the Reformation have a pretence for painting him in the most hateful colours, while such as rightly value his services to religion, have the pain of admitting, that they were rendered by a sovereign whose memorable career was sullied by lust and tyranny.

CHAPTER III.

Accession of Edward VI.—Ascendancy of the reforming Party—Efforts of the Romanists in behalf of their Superstitions—Ridley—Latimer—Transubstantiation—The new Communion-service—The first Book of Common Prayer—Insurrections of the Peasantry—Imprisonment of Bishop Gardiner—Deprivation of Bishop Boner—Misfortunes of the Seymours—The new Ordination-service—Altars—Deprivation of Bishop Gardiner—And of Bishop Tunstall—The second Book of Common Prayer—The Forty-two Articles—Burning of Bocher and Van Parr—Execution of Somerset—Illness and Death of the King.

WHEN Edward, the sixth English king of that name since the Conquest, was called by his father's death to the throne of his ancestors, he was in the tenth year of his age. The last three years of his life had been spent under the tuition of Cox, Dean of Christ Church, in Oxford, and Cheke, professor of Greek, at Cambridge. These eminent scholars found themselves entrusted with a very satisfactory charge, for the young prince had excellent abilities, and a great love of learning. Hence when he mounted the throne, he was far better informed than most boys are at an age so tender. In religious opinions, Edward's instructors agreed with the Reformers, and they found it easy to train their

pupil's mind in the principles of scriptural Christianity. So powerful indeed, was the reverence imbibed by the royal youth for God's recorded Word, that it acted upon him even in the midst of his amusements. A play-fellow once placed a Bible on the floor for the sake of enabling him to reach something above his head. Edward, however, not only refused to step upon the holy book, but he likewise expressed himself displeased, that his young companion should think him capable of using it for such a trifling purpose.

At the time of his father's death, Edward was at Hertford-castle. Having been conducted thence to London, the late King's will was examined, and it was found to contain a liberal provision for saying masses to release his soul from purgatory: a plain proof, that Henry had risen but imperfectly above the prejudices of a Romish education. Sixteen individuals were named for the double purpose of acting as executors to the late sovereign's will, and of councillors to the young king during his minority. Besides these sixteen, twelve other advisers were provided for cases of emergency. Among the royal executors, Protestant and Romish principles were blended in proportions nearly equal; but it seemed likely, that the latter would gain the ascendancy in the new administration: their most influential supporters being Wriothesley, the Chancellor, and Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, both able men, and the former an active politician likewise. On

councils, zealous Reformers now hastened to attack some of the more glaring abuses of Romanism. Orders had been issued in the late reign for the removal of images abused to superstitious uses, and in consequence, the most offensive of these ensnaring objects had been destroyed. But a large proportion of them still remained, and it was plainly impossible to purge the land of idolatry, so long as churches were furnished with ornaments upon which the weaker minds in every station were accustomed to look with religious veneration. Alive to this enormous evil, the officers entrusted with the care of a church in London, took down, upon their own responsibility, the figures which had so long misled the more ignorant worshippers. At Portsmouth, the populace effected such a removal tumultuously. Nothing could exceed the disgust with which these movements were observed by the more artful and bigoted Romanists. Discerning men of that party are well aware, that Romish opinions mainly depend for their hold upon the public mind upon that indulgence of idolatrous and superstitious propensities which are unhappily deeply rooted in the corrupt affections of fallen man. While every shallow and uninformed member of the papal communion naturally clings to those poisonous heathen vanities which captivate the senses, without enlightening the mind, or amending the heart. Active exertions were, accordingly, used for preventing the people from seeing the folly and the

danger of worshipping before graven images. Every object, indeed, by which the deluded people had been led astray, now found even men of ability to defend it. An attack had been made in the pulpit upon the salt and water which is placed by Romanists, as it was by the ancient heathens, at the entrances of their places of worship. Even Bishop Gardiner undertook to defend this relic of heathenism, ridiculously called *Holy Water*, in the Roman Church. The sprinkling of it about, he said, was quite as likely to prove efficacious for driving away devils, as certain rings consecrated by the late King, according to ancient usage, were likely to prove efficacious for driving away the cramp. That the Bishop was right enough here there can be no question; but those who now held the reins of government valued neither cramp-rings nor holy water, and they wisely desired to wean the people from trusting any longer in such base and stupid superstitions. Gardiner's arguments, therefore, upon this subject, only served to lower his own character, and to shew the weakness of the Romish cause. Nor were his efforts in favour of images attended with any better success. These things, he said, served for books to unlearned men. The Protector, however, urged in reply, that they were a kind of books from which such men had notoriously been used to draw very false notions of religion, and he suggested, that, on this account most

probably, God had wholly forbidden them to the ancient Israelites.

The most eminent preacher employed at this time in exposing Romish abuses was Nicholas Ridley. He was born at Wilmontswick, in Northumberland, where the family, of which his father was a younger son, had occupied the knightly rank during many generations. Young Ridley received the first part of his education at the school of Newcastle upon Tyne, the latter part in the University of Cambridge. An uncle, who held considerable preferment in the Church, paid his college-expenses, and subsequently supplied him with the means of studying at Paris and Louvaine. On returning from abroad, his eminent abilities, learning, and virtue recommended him to Archbishop Cranmer, who made him his chaplain, and who soon afterwards collated him to the vicarage of Herne, in Kent. He was preferred also, during the late reign, to the mastership of his college, in Cambridge, and to a prebend of Canterbury. Of all these appointments he discharged the several duties with exemplary diligence. He did not, however, discontinue his studies. On the contrary, his attention was ever laboriously and anxiously fixed upon the controversies which have rendered his time so famous. His enquiries being conducted in a very slow and cautious manner, he was long in making up his mind as to the erroneous-

ness of Romanism. At length, he became firmly convinced, that this religious system can be traced neither to Scripture, nor to the earliest Christian writers. He felt himself, therefore, bound to oppose it as a mere heap of human inventions which sprang up gradually during the dark ages.

Of all the preachers, however, who laboured, under King Edward, in spreading the knowledge of a scriptural faith, by far the most popular was the zealous and honest Hugh Latimer. This excellent pastor was born at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, where his father was a respectable yeoman. As he discovered considerable talents in childhood, his education was conducted with a view to the University, and at the age of fourteen, he was entered at Cambridge. He there applied himself diligently to the usual course of study, and being of a religious disposition, he became warmly attached to the established Church. Indeed, so strong were his prejudices in its favour, that when the Reformers first attracted public notice, he was indignant at their boldness. But there was one at Cambridge who discovered in Latimer a spirit different from that of ordinary bigots. The admirable Bilney, soon afterwards a martyr to the Protestant cause, marked the genuine honesty of Latimer's zeal, and was anxious to give it a safe direction. Bilney's endeavours proved successful, and his convert henceforth exerted himself unremittingly to wean the people's minds from doctrines unknown

to Scripture. By such conduct, Latimer naturally raised a host of enemies around him, and in the earlier years of Henry's reign, he was twice brought into danger upon charges of heresy. Upon Anne Boleyn's elevation to the throne, he was appointed one of her chaplains, and afterwards, by her interest, he was raised to the see of Worcester. This elevation made no difference in Latimer. As hitherto, he was artless, homely, an unsparing rebuker of vice wherever it met his eye, and unweariedly bent upon extending the knowledge of scriptural truth. As, however, his habits of speaking and acting were plain, even to the borders of indiscretion, he soon, probably, felt that a bishopric was not the station best calculated to render him useful and happy. When, accordingly, the infamous Act of Six Articles was passed, he resigned his see with joyous marks of satisfaction, and he retired immediately into the country. He had not long been settled there before a very severe hurt, received from the fall of a tree, brought him up to London for surgical advice. While in town, he used his habitual freedom in speaking against the Six Articles, and having thus laid himself open to the lash of the law, he was committed to the Tower, and there he was detained a prisoner until Henry died. When released, on the present King's accession, Latimer was about seventy years of age, and the accident under which he had suffered, rendered his infirmities greater than those of most

men at that time of life. But he had lost nothing of that honest, holy zeal which had rendered him so remarkable through life. Archbishop Cranmer kindly found him a home at Lambeth, and being thus relieved from ordinary cares, he was at liberty for incessant application to his ministerial calling. It was his habit, throughout the year, to rise at two in the morning, for the purpose of pursuing his studies : and during the busier part of the day his time was almost constantly occupied in affording spiritual counsel to those who came to ask it of him, or in hearing cases of oppression, for the redress of which his influence was sought with such as could remedy the injuries. On Sundays he seldom failed to deliver two sermons, and of these, from his impressive earnestness, his unquestionable integrity, his homely illustrations, his penetrating rebukes, and his humorous images, the effect was irresistible. Some of his discourses were delivered before the King, who listened from an open window with the most marked attention. The pulpit was placed in the privy garden, the chapel being unequal to contain the crowds which flocked to receive instruction from good old father Latimer, as the preacher was affectionately called. Many of his admirers would fain have seen him restored to the see of Worcester, and the House of Commons voted an address to the Protector, praying that this act of justice should not be overlooked. But the venerable preacher was perfectly contented under Cran-

mer's hospitable roof. In that situation he had ample opportunities of making himself useful in the way best suited to him, and he desired no more. The calls of ordinary business, and the trappings of elevated rank impeded his evangelical ardour, and wearied his humble spirit. He, therefore, declined to avail himself of that popular favour which sought to surround him again with wealth and dignity.

Besides encouraging able preachers of scriptural principles, the government adopted other means of spreading sound religious knowledge over the country. A royal visitation was undertaken for the purpose of rooting out superstition, and of obliging the clergy to discharge their duty agreeably to God's recorded Word. The Paraphrase of Erasmus upon the New Testament was translated into English, and every parish in the kingdom was ordered to provide itself with a copy of it. The first book of Homilies was composed, chiefly by Cranmer, and the clergy were enjoined to read these excellent discourses from their pulpits. Private authors also laboured to shake the people's belief in such doctrines as are not founded upon Scripture. Cranmer, especially, published a catechism, translated from the German. But one of the most important works which appeared in the earlier part of Edward's reign, was an English version of Ratramn's book, proving the comparative novelty of transubstantiation.

This word means, the change of one substance into another substance. It is affirmed by Romanists, that when their priests administer the Lord's Supper, after certain words are spoken, the bread and wine, though to all appearance remaining unchanged, are in fact become the very body and blood of Christ. These words, accordingly, have no sooner been uttered, than a little bell is rung, the priest holds the bread and wine up over his head, and the congregation fall upon their knees and worship, just as if they really saw their Saviour before them. The Redeemer of mankind being thus drawn down, as it is believed, sensibly from heaven, the priest sacrifices him, according to Romish divines, before the faces of his worshippers, as he was once sacrificed at Calvary. Hence it is maintained, that, as the sacrifice of the cross benefited the present, the absent, and even the dead, so these alleged sacrifices of Romish priests do the same thing. Upon this principle, Romanists, with no thought of receiving the Sacrament themselves, go to see the priest receive it, or go to mass, according to their phrase. They also hire their priests to receive the Sacrament, either by payments made during their lives, or by legacies bequeathed for this purpose on their deaths, under a notion that such receiving by others will benefit their own souls. Thus, receiving the Sacrament, or saying mass, as it is called, with a view to the benefit of others, forms a principal part of the

business, and a very considerable source of profit to the Romish clergy. Transubstantiation is, indeed, the leading doctrine of the papal religion, and it is, accordingly, very important to obtain correct information as to its origin. Now, it is admitted by Romish divines, that this doctrine can be proved neither by Scripture, nor by those ancient writers who are called the fathers of the Christian Church. It may be added that it cannot be proved from the Romish Communion Service, or Mass. It is, however, asserted that this doctrine has ever been maintained by the Roman Church. Ratramn's book proves the falsity of this assertion. Its author, one of the most famous divines in the ninth century, lived and died in communion with Rome. A divine, named Radbert, had published a treatise, maintaining some such doctrine as transubstantiation, which occasioned a great deal of controversy. The Emperor, Charles the Bald, commanded Ratramn to write upon the subject, in order that the decision of an author so much respected should set the dispute to rest. The Emperor's commands were obeyed in a short work which completely overthrows Radbert's arguments, and which, being uncensured by the Roman Church of that day, is a plain proof, even if there were not many others, that transubstantiation was not then the doctrine of that Church. The truth, indeed, is, that this doctrine which the senses contradict, and which even

its abettors allow neither Scripture nor the fathers affirm, was never solemnly maintained by the papal see until two hundred years after Ratramn's death, and until after that century, (the tenth), in which the darkness and ignorance of Europe had reached its height. It was then industriously recommended to persons of better information by means of sophistical reasonings, and to the grosser understandings by means of legerdemain tricks, and other such dishonest contrivances, impudently represented as miracles. But it long struggled with prevailing incredulity. Even so late as the time of Wickliffe, the University of Oxford doubted as to whether this doctrine was to be maintained. Nor unquestionably, had it not been found equally agreeable to an interested priesthood, and to a superstitious people, would men have so generally admitted a principle which the senses declare to be false, and to which no degree of learned enquiry, however partial, has been able to discover any plain testimony among the earliest Christian writers.

It is a remarkable instance of the force of early prejudice, that Luther's mind never shook off a favourable opinion of transubstantiation. The great Saxon Reformer soon discerned, indeed, the folly of maintaining, that substances, which every sense pronounced to be bread and wine, were in truth become nothing but the body and blood of Christ. He, therefore, admitted, that consecration destroys not the bread and wine. But he taught, that it

combines invisibly with these substances, the Saviour's natural body and blood. This doctrine is called consubstantiation. Zuingle, however, rejected it, teaching in its room, not only that the bread and wine remain after consecration, but also, that no communicant, unless possessed of a true faith, receives at the Sacrament the body and blood of Jesus. Nothing could exceed the anger which this doctrine called forth from Luther and his most attached disciples. They regarded it as a foul blot upon the Reformation, and stigmatising the followers of Zuingle as Sacramentaries, they represented them as heretics, whom no Christian community was justified in tolerating. Englishmen who embraced the Reformation were divided upon this question, but the most considerable among them had imbibed from their Saxon friends a strong prejudice against Zuingle's opinions. Under King Henry, accordingly, whenever the Romish party gained the ascendancy, the Sacramentaries were abandoned to persecution; with the approbation, as it appeared, of a large portion of their Protestant brethren. Nevertheless, the leading English Reformers abstained from acquiescing in all Luther's opinions upon the Sacrament. They seem to have thought, that the former doctrine of transubstantiation was quite as likely to be true, as that new shade of it which had been lately taught in Saxony. At length, late in the last reign, Ridley came over to Zuingle's judgment upon the Sacrament. He

met with Ratramn's work, and he saw at once, that the Roman Church could not have embraced transubstantiation in the ninth century. Farther enquiry convinced him, that the texts of Scripture, which are cited in support of that doctrine, will not fairly bear any such interpretation, and that passages in the fathers, also considered as proofs of it, are manifestly taken by Romish commentators in senses which their authors never could have intended. Having laboriously come to these important conclusions, he laid the results of his examination before Cranmer, and the Archbishop immediately applied himself to the subject with his usual diligence. After much reading and thought, he likewise, Edward having newly begun to reign, fully satisfied his own mind, that transubstantiation is a doctrine unknown to both Scripture and the fathers.

The Archbishop was not, however, hasty in exposing prevailing prejudices upon this important subject. The government, which acted as to religious matters according to his advice, contented itself with beginning to spread abroad sound notions of the Lord's Supper, by merely retrenching some of the most indefensible innovations. Until about three hundred years before the Reformation, all who knelt around the holy table received the wine, as well as the bread. But a general belief in transubstantiation having then caused men to look upon the sacramental elements

as no other than an incarnation of the Saviour, and to worship them accordingly; they were commonly carried in procession, all passengers kneeling before them, as if they had met Jesus himself by the way. Now, it is plain, that the wine would be liable to many accidents, if thus carried along the public thoroughfares. The bread, however, might be safely made a principal object in such exhibitions. Hence it came, at length, to be solely used in administering to the people; no communicants, except the officiating clergyman, being admitted to the cup. This innovation gave great offence in many quarters, and it never was established regularly as a rule in the Roman Church, until the year 1415; when the council of Constance formally denied the sacramental cup to laymen. English communicants were relieved from this sacrilegious grievance by an act of Parliament passed towards the end of the year 1547. In the following March was published a new Communion-book, in which not only provision was made for administering the cup to the congregation, but also a considerable portion of the service was in English. This book also rendered it optional with the people, whether they would confess or no before communion. Ever since the year 1215, Romanists have been obliged to confess to their ordinary ministers all their sins of thought, word, and deed, so far as they can remember them, at least once in every year. The general usage is, to make this annual confession

before the beginning of Lent, and to receive the holy Sacrament at Easter. After confession, the person making it is absolved by the priest, and this absolution is represented as a full release from those eternal torments in hell, which the sins confessed would otherwise have drawn down upon the offender. It is, however, maintained, that punishments of a temporal nature, proportioned to the offences, must still be undergone, either in this world, or in purgatory. For the purpose of saving the soul as much as possible from the greater miseries of purgatory, Romish priests, accordingly, recommend various penances after confession. They desire people to repeat the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and the Hail Mary, in Latin, so many scores of times at a stretch ; to go upon a pilgrimage to various idols ; to scourge themselves ; to live upon fish, or bread and water, for a given time ; or to undergo other such irksome or painful operations. These penances are called satisfactions ; and it is maintained, that they will undoubtedly abridge the soul's detention in purgatory. Now, as the Reformers could find in Scripture neither any mention of purgatory, nor any ground for confiding in such satisfactions, they rejected both these notions. They rejected also another doctrine, which is, in fact, the corner-stone of Romish trust in confession. Romanists are taught, that if they confess their sins merely from the fear of being punished for them in hell, though without any abhorrence

of them, and without feeling the love of God in their breasts, priestly absolution will render their souls secure from everlasting ruin. This kind of concern for sin is called attrition. It was, however, pronounced utterly unavailing by the Reformers; they finding themselves unable to discern in Scripture any ground of hope for such sinners as do not truly repent. Hence, in the new Communion-book, it was deemed unnecessary to insist upon confession; it being considered, that true repentance needs no priestly interference, and that any thing short of true repentance will reconcile no man to God, whatever words may be pronounced over him by a priest.

The new Communion-book was drawn up in haste merely to serve a temporary purpose; an anxiety naturally prevailing in the royal councils to prevent the people from communicating at the approaching Easter exactly according to former usage. In the following summer, all the offices of religion were carefully reviewed under the direction of Archbishop Cranmer. Already had some clergymen, zealous for the Reformation, undertaken, upon their own authority, to discontinue the Latin service, and to supply its place by English prayers of their own composition. Some of these divines would, probably, have liked to retain the liberty which they had assumed. There was, however, no good reason why they should have been thus indulged. The wants of men continue always

nearly the same; and, therefore, there is no need of a constant change in the language of public prayer. Nor, indeed, after all their endeavours for variety, are ministers who publicly pray extemporaneously, enabled to make any striking differences in their professional addresses to the throne of grace. Nor, again, is it desirable to make the service depend almost entirely upon the minister's ingenuity. The production of much able matter is a talent denied to a large proportion of men, and even the few who possess it are not at all times equal to the display of it. Upon these obvious accounts, we cannot wonder, that prescribed forms of prayer were used both among the ancient Jews, and among the primitive Christians. That form, however, which was established in England at the time of the Reformation, was objectionable, both because, as being in Latin, it was a mere mockery to ordinary congregations, and because it had become gradually patched, during the dark ages, with a great mass of absurd ceremonies, appeals to departed spirits, unscriptural doctrines, and ridiculous tales. Those who compiled the English liturgy rejected all these foul blemishes; and after translating the best parts of the old service into the vulgar tongue, they added to them other matter of the most excellent kind, chiefly from Scripture. They thus produced a Book of Common Prayer, containing the finest devotional pieces which the Christian

Church has produced during her whole continuance; and, in short, such as no critic, however unfriendly, ever has been able to assail with any material objections. In executing their task, these wise and pious compilers acted very tenderly with Romish prejudices; introducing into the book several ceremonies which are of high antiquity, but which many of the more zealous Protestants disapproved, as having no direct warrant in Scripture. These concessions, however, failed of satisfying the Romish party; and, accordingly, when the new service-book was submitted to the approbation of Parliament, it excited a violent opposition. This being at length overcome, a bill passed in the beginning of the year 1549, rendering it obligatory upon all clergymen to use the English Liturgy upon the following Whit-Sunday.

The execution of this act gave occasion to a formidable insurrection. On Whit-Sunday the parishioners of Sampford Courtenay, in Devonshire, heard, of course, the English service. When they came to church on the following day, they compelled the rector to use the Latin mass. This outrage appeared like a signal for which the discontented population of the West anxiously waited. Insurgents now flocked from every part of Devonshire and Cornwall, until, within a short time, not less than ten thousand men had ranged themselves under the rebellious standard. A Cornish gentleman, named Arundel, acted as the leader of these

misguided peasants, and several clergymen accompanied them upon their march. By these unworthy priests the people's madness was invested with the character of a religious war. Crosses and candlesticks, bread and salted water, esteemed holy by Romanists, and a consecrated wafer under a canopy in a cart, attended the movements of this infatuated host. The government found considerable difficulty in crushing an insurrection so formidable. At length, however, the rebels were defeated with frightful slaughter, and some of the ringleaders very properly perished under the hands of the executioner.

While Devonshire was thus distracted, Norfolk was equally unquiet. Kett, a wealthy tanner of Wymondham, there headed a very numerous band of discontented rustics. At first he successfully gave battle to the royal forces, but a stupid prophecy lured his followers from a strong position which they occupied, and a miserable slaughter immediately thinned their ranks. Kett escaped from the bloody field, but he was quickly taken, and hanged as a traitor. His brother and nine others met with the same fate. While these commotions raged, other parts of England were convulsed, and the whole summer was one of unusual difficulty to the government. It must not, however, be supposed, that religion, or, more properly, superstition, was the sole cause of all this wretched agitation. The peasantry had, in fact, been long

uneasy from measures adopted by the landed proprietors. These persons were generally bent upon improving their estates by enclosing adjoining wastes, and by fencing off ploughed fields to lay them down as pastures. Fine farms, occupied by a thriving yeomanry, were thus arising in neighbourhoods where lately were to be seen only ill-cultivated patches of land, held by cottagers miserably poor. Such holders, however, seeing very little prospect of bettering themselves individually, were naturally disgusted with the conduct of their landlords, and ripe for any mischief. Being very ignorant, these unhappy countrymen were almost universally wedded to Roman abuses; and hence, when they saw the empire of superstition completely overthrown, a senseless bigotry lent force, and they fancied also lent sanctity, to their long-felt dissatisfaction.

It was commonly said among the Romish party, that no alterations could lawfully be made in religion while the King was under age; the royal supremacy admitting not of delegation to a council of regency. Upon this absurd principle, which would, in fact, go to disqualify all minors for the throne, Somerset's reforms in the Church were represented as undeniable violations of the constitution. It is hardly to be supposed, that the leading Romanists were silly enough to entertain seriously such a principle: nor was it likely that they would so far compromise their characters, as to assert it

publicly. It was, however, commonly noised abroad under the supposed sanction of their authority, and, indeed, it is reasonable to believe, that they actually maintained it in private conversation. With a view of restraining them from giving such underhand encouragement to a mischievous pretence, it was determined, in 1548, to call upon Gardiner, the most important among them, for a public avowal of his opinions upon this, and upon some other subjects then much controverted, from the pulpit. The Bishop obeyed this call, by preaching, on the prescribed day, against the papal supremacy and monasteries. Images, he said, might, with proper caution, have been retained; but, all things considered, he thought that they had been properly removed. Masses for the benefit of persons paying for them, it was admitted, had gone beyond all reasonable bounds; and, therefore, the preacher approved of the measures for putting them down. The new Communion-service, and the administration of the cup to laymen, he commended; and, upon the whole, he declared himself satisfied with the reforms hitherto effected under Edward. But with these concessions he mixed up a violent defence of transubstantiation, which occasioned considerable tumult among the hearers; and upon the ecclesiastical authority vested in the council of a minor king, he was entirely silent. This introduction of inflammatory matter, and this omission of an important point

especially named for his discussion, were considered as alike disrespectful to the council of regency, and injurious to the public tranquillity. The Bishop was, accordingly, committed to the Tower: a harsh measure, apparently, but one, probably, which the government could not avoid, unless it were prepared to give up the necessary work of Reformation.

A year having rolled away, and the rebels in the West, in Norfolk, and elsewhere, continuing to use the current objections against ecclesiastical changes effected under a minority; it was now determined to call upon Boner for a sermon against this prevailing delusion. It was reasonable to impose such a burthen upon that prelate, not only because the Romish party generally looked up to him, but also because he, like Gardiner, when at liberty, had given much underhand encouragement to such as loved the old superstitions. Boner seems to have delivered a sermon, in obedience to the council, even less satisfactory than that which Gardiner had preached in the preceding year. Like that prelate, he introduced some inflammatory matter; but he said nothing as to the conduct required of subjects during a minority. The only redeeming points in his discourse, indeed, appear to have been observations upon superfluous ceremonies, and upon the guilt of rebellion. As many of the rebels openly declared their intention to obey no new laws until the King should have attained the

age of twenty-one years, it was necessary to visit Boner's offence with severity, for the sake of example; to say nothing of other reasons. In punishing him there was no difficulty; for he had himself consented to hold his bishopric during pleasure. A commission was accordingly issued, charged with examining evidence against him, and of proceeding upon it, if necessary. Several examinations followed, in the course of which Boner behaved with a high degree of vulgar insolence and folly. At length he was dismissed from his bishopric, and committed to prison. In his room, the excellent Ridley was raised to the see of London; greatly to the benefit of that diocese, and not altogether unfortunately even to Boner's family: his mother and sister receiving the same kindly attentions from the new Bishop, that they had been used to receive from their own relative.

Amidst all these exertions for establishing a scriptural faith in England, those who felt an interest in that blessing were disquieted by troubles which overtook the family now at the head of affairs. The Seymours being suddenly raised from a moderate condition to a dazzling degree of wealth and splendour, by means of the late King's marriage with their sister, were long, to all appearance, among the most fortunate men of their time. But within their own circle were the seeds of misery and ruin, which quickly ripened under the deceitful sunshine of uninterrupted prosperity. The

younger brother, Thomas, had been created a peer in the beginning of this reign, and had attained extensive estates, together with the post of Lord High Admiral. Not contented, however, with these acquisitions, he panted for an opportunity of outstripping the Protector in the career of ambition. Lord Seymour was in demeanour spirited and stately; his dress was elegant, and his voice musical. That his discourse was vain and frivolous, that in habits he was dissipated, were defects in his character easily overlooked by the superficial multitude. Too often, fatally for female happiness, men so recommended by outward graces, even although notoriously wanting in sense and morals, are enabled to form advantageous marriages. To such a mode of advancement, accordingly, their attention is usually directed. Seymour's favourite project appears to have been a marriage with the Lady Elizabeth. He thought, probably, that as the reigning monarch was a delicate child, and as the Lady Mary was of doubtful legitimacy, he might reasonably calculate upon mounting the throne, if he could only gain the younger princess. But Henry's executors allowed him not to realise this aspiring scheme; and he then immediately turned his attention towards Catharine Parr, the widowed Queen. That excellent lady acted, upon receiving the offer of his hand, with a weakness little to be expected from one who had generally shewn a strong sense of

propriety, and a great soundness of discretion. Within a time indecently short of her late husband's death, she became Seymour's bride; alleging as an excuse for this unseemly haste, that her heart was his, when her duty as a subject obliged her unexpectedly to wed the King. Seymour having thus formed a close alliance with the throne, immediately asserted claims which led to quarrels with his brother, the Protector. He likewise aroused the jealousy of his wife by continuing his attentions to the Lady Elizabeth; and he disgusted all who knew him by his irreligious and selfish conduct. At the end of about twelve months from the time of her new marriage, Catharine died in childbirth. Seymour then privately renewed his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, and he also strove to gain unduly upon the affections of his royal nephew, by secretly supplying him with money, and by flattering his boyish impatience under the Protector's management. Not contented with these intolerable miscarriages, the Admiral contracted with an unprincipled officer, employed in the royal mint, for a regular supply of base money; he provisioned largely his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire; he laboured to form a party against his brother among the nobility; and he even overlooked some offences committed at sea, for the sake, as it was reasonably thought, of securing abettors, in case of need, among desperate characters who lived by piracy. Information of these

unwarrantable acts being laid before the privy council, he was committed to the Tower; and the judges having pronounced the charges against him treasonable, he was condemned by a bill of attainder. His execution upon Tower-hill quickly followed; and the Protector was thus delivered from an enemy who would, probably, never have ceased, so long as life remained, to lay plots for undermining his authority. Somerset's popularity was, however, seriously lessened by the Admiral's untimely death: it being generally represented as an inexcusable barbarity, that one brother should have been concerned in bringing another to perish on a scaffold.

The Protector aggravated this unfriendly feeling of the public by his own vanity. He was intent upon building for himself and his posterity a splendid residence in town, and he followed up this design with a blameable disregard for the feelings and interests of others. Room was found for his intended mansion by depriving three bishops of their parliamentary abodes, and a parish of its church. These erections, then standing upon the ground now occupied by Somerset-house, in the Strand, were destroyed. Their materials, together with others obtained by the pulling down of handsome buildings, in different parts of London, were used in the spacious pile which proudly rose under Somerset's direction. Coxcombs watched the progress of this work with envy, and even men of sense

could not meet materials travelling onwards to the Strand, from the sites of ornamental buildings needlessly demolished, without expressions of disgust. While thus rapidly sinking in public estimation, unfavourable events, enough to baffle a genius far above his, assailed the Protector on every side. At home, insurrections raged extensively. Abroad, the policy of England was unsuccessful, and her military fame appeared on the decline. All these disheartening circumstances were generally charged upon Somerset's incapacity. This view of the case was artfully encouraged by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, a scheming politician, whose eye was steadily fixed upon the highest objects of human ambition. Dudley's father had been concerned with Empson in that system of levying money by means of fines, which had so much enriched Henry VII. On their avaricious master's death, both these ministers of his extortion were sacrificed to public vengeance by his son. The younger Dudley was then designed for the law, but he soon afterwards left that profession for the army, which was not slow in leading him to honour. Before the late King's demise he was created Viscount Lisle, and in the distribution of peerages which took place on Edward's accession, he obtained the earldom of Warwick. Like most aspiring men, he looked upon this dignity merely as the stepping-stone to farther acquisitions, and when he saw the Protector surrounded by serious difficulties, he thought

that the time was come for thrusting him aside, in order to place himself at the head of affairs. A party was, accordingly, formed in the council under Warwick's direction, which charged Somerset with treasonable designs. Against this confederacy the Duke found it vain to struggle, and therefore, by the advice of Cranmer, who remained firm to him to the last, he surrendered himself a prisoner into the hands of his enemies. By them he was confined in the Tower, and his public conduct was rigidly examined. To his credit, however, be it spoken, no material charges were brought against him. His actions appear, at farthest, to have been in some instances impolitic, in others illegal and unwise. As a penalty for these offences, he was deprived of the Protectorate, and detained in the Tower. In that prison he conducted himself with great propriety, turning his attention chiefly to religion; thus rendering it evident, that if he had been vain, ambitious, and indiscreet, he had never acquired that hardness of heart which is the most effectual obstacle to amendment.

To the Romanists, Somerset's fall was most agreeable, and they reckoned immediately upon recovering their ascendancy. But the King had imbibed the strongest abhorrence of Popery, and many other leading personages entertained the like feelings. Warwick, therefore, who cared little for religious questions, prudently determined upon continuing the ecclesiastical policy which had been

followed under the Protector. An English service for ordaining ministers was the first ecclesiastical measure of importance adopted by the new administration. Happily Cranmer, under whose direction chiefly the Church of England was reformed, had been admitted to the office of a bishop. Some of those also who shared his labours had attained the same degree. Thus there was no necessity to depart, in the purified English establishment, from that mode of governing the Church which universally prevailed among Christians, from primitive times, down to the Reformation. From most of the societies which forsook Popery, the bishops stood aloof, and hence, in many cases, Protestant churches, episcopal succession being unattainable, were compelled to devise plans for their governance, and for the continuance of their ministry, upon principles unsanctioned by the most venerable records of ecclesiastical antiquity. As no such necessity existed in England, her new ordination-service provided forms for commissioning the three scriptural orders of bishops, priests, and deacons. It seems to have been considered at the time when this service was in the course of preparation, whether some, or all of the five lower orders of ministers, used in the Roman Church, should not be continued in England. These ministers, who answer to parish-clerks and other such officers, are, indeed, of high antiquity. But as apostolical authority will be sought for them in vain, and as the

practice of conferring such lower orders upon persons intended for the priesthood, being found practically useless, had long been little else than a mere matter of form, even among Romanists, it was determined by the English compilers to omit them entirely. For ordaining the three scriptural degrees of Christian ministers, a service was prepared, in a great measure from that used in the papal Church, but in which all unscriptural, superfluous, and superstitious matters were carefully excluded. Among the commissioners charged with compiling this service was Nicholas Heath, Bishop of Worcester, and he so far agreed with his brethren as to admit, that the new ordinal might be safely used in the Church. He refused, however, to sanction it by his signature. For this incomppliance, he was committed to prison. Having remained there during more than a year, he was again questioned as to the ordinal. His answer was, that he was willing to act according to it, but that he had not altered his mind as to signing it. This reply being thought at once unreasonable and mischievous, Heath was dismissed from his bishopric; he having consented to hold it during the royal pleasure. He was then entrusted to the gentle custody of Bishop Ridley; under whose hospitable roof he lived in plenty, and in learned ease until Edward's death.

At the same time with Heath, George Day, Bishop of Chichester, was dismissed from his see. This prelate had occasioned a considerable ferment

in his diocese by preaching against the removal of altars. Originally, a plain table of wood was provided for administering the Lord's Supper. When the Church grew wealthy, these tables were usually of stone or marble. At length, they were universally of such materials, and it became the fashion to make them like the altars which had been used among Jews and Heathens for their sacrifices. This figure, which was adopted at first, merely as a matter of taste, was artfully represented, in time, as a proof of the doctrine, adopted in the dark ages, that Romish priests offer up Christ in the Holy Supper. While a stone altar stood in every church it was found impossible to root out this absurd and blasphemous notion so quickly as well-informed Christians desired. Bishop Ridley, therefore, ordered the general removal of altars in the diocese of London, and the placing of wooden tables in their room. Zealous clergymen also of scriptural principles preached against altars. Such sermons were met, of course, by answers from the pulpits of priests attached to Romanism, and a great degree of agitation was called forth by this question. In order to restore tranquillity, commands were issued from court for the general removal of altars. Bishop Day aggravated his offences in the pulpit by refusing to render any assistance in enforcing this command, and, in consequence, he was committed to the Fleet. After an imprisonment of several months' continuance, being found still re-

fractory, he was deprived of his bishopric, and sent for farther detention into the family of Goodrich, Bishop of Ely; where he found a comfortable asylum during the remainder of this reign.

A more important episcopal deprivation was that of the celebrated Bishop of Winchester. This severity seems to have been provoked chiefly by Gardiner's own importunity. He had been urgent, in the Tower, for a solemn hearing of his case; trusting, probably, in his own wariness, subtlety, and knowledge of the law. Commissioners were, accordingly, empowered to sit in judgment upon him, and they, after twenty-two sessions, deprived him of his bishopric. Orders were then given for his removal to a meaner lodging in the Tower, for the dismissal of attendants chosen by himself, for the examination of his books and papers, for taking from him his writing-materials, and for denying him the visits of his friends. Whatever may be thought of these harsh measures, it is plain, that the government was not to blame for Gardiner's dismissal from the see of Winchester. He had consented, like most of the prelates, to hold his bishopric during the royal pleasure, and there is very little reason to doubt, that if he had continued in possession of wealth and station, he would have been unceasingly contriving schemes for crossing the crown's ecclesiastical arrangements.

Near the end of this reign, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, also lost his see. Being

learned, virtuous, and moderate, this eminent prelate had passed through his long life, more thoroughly respected by both the great religious parties which divided England, than, perhaps, any other man of his time. But although he obeyed acts in favour of the Reformation, when passed, yet he always opposed them in the House of Lords, and no man doubted, that Romish prejudices were firmly rooted in his heart. A factious person, accordingly, acquainted him in writing with a plan for raising an insurrection in the North. Tunstall not only concealed this treasonable scheme from the government, but also returned an answer to the letter written to him upon the subject. The worthless writer of this letter soon afterwards betrayed him; and his concealment of the dangerous plot being at length established, he was detained in the Tower under a restraint tolerably easy.

While these various proceedings were in progress for silencing opposition to a scriptural faith, the principal English Reformers were constantly employed upon perfecting the system which they had established among their countrymen. Objections had been made by Protestants both at home and abroad against the Book of Common Prayer, on account of several Romish usages retained in it. A very careful review of that service was, accordingly, undertaken, and the result was, that the book was purged of those rites and ceremonies which had given offence, and was reduced very

nearly to the form in which it has come down to our own times. An act enjoining the use of this revised Common Prayer was passed in the spring of 1552, and in the following November the new service was heard in every church. The excellence of this liturgy has been long since generally acknowledged. It is, in fact, a system of public worship manifestly agreeable to God's Word, and undeniably adapted to the wants of men. The Romanist of good information is compelled to admit, that the English liturgy contains the best parts of his own, translated into a living tongue; and that such portions of our service as are not found in authorised papal books of devotion, are either taken from Scripture, or are closely conformable to its phraseology and sense. The Protestant imbued with sound and rational piety observes with satisfaction, that this admirable service inculcates, in all its parts, the necessity of Divine grace, while it avoids all enthusiastic language. Thus it has happened, that men, thinking differently upon questions in theology, and far from alike in the warmth of their religious professions, have yet agreed in pointing to the English liturgy as a volume exactly suited to their peculiar views.

Provision being thus excellently made for public worship, it was next determined to compile articles of religion. A confession of faith was required of those who were admitted into the Church even by the Apostles. Indeed without some standard

of belief, it is evident, that Christian societies would be over-run by discordant, absurd, and even pernicious opinions. Unskilful teachers, however, arose, in spite of every care, from time to time, and introduced various errors into the Church. Councils, accordingly, were called, as occasions required, for the purpose of defining the Christian faith in such a manner as to condemn these erroneous opinions of the day. When Luther's followers had obtained a firm footing, they found themselves obliged, like other religious communities, to put forth a formal declaration of their principles, and in consequence, they embodied their sentiments in the Confession of Augsburg: so called from its having been presented at that place, in 1530, to the Emperor Charles V. From this famous confession, had been chiefly drawn the religious principles published by authority under the late King, and it was now used again as the foundation of the desired articles of religion. Farther materials were obtained from the Confession of Wittemberg, a formulary prepared by the principal Lutheran divines, in 1551, for the consideration of the council of Trent. These pieces were not, however, servilely followed, but such variations from them were freely adopted as appeared to be needful or eligible. As to the sacramental presence of Christ especially, the English articles are at variance with the Lutherans, as well as with the Romanists. The principal, if not the sole compiler of this body of doctrines was

Cranmer; but he seems to have consulted Ridley during the progress of his labours. The Archbishop accomplished this undertaking with all the patient industry which he ever used when employed upon questions of importance. Passages illustrating the points requiring his consideration were collected from the most approved authorities, and thus he was enabled to decide upon the fullest and safest information. The articles, being forty-two in number, were offered, under royal authority, to the clergy for their subscriptions. But these were affixed to them freely, or from persuasion merely; no compulsion being used.

Many occasions had occurred proving the necessity of defining the national belief. Not only wild and dangerous opinions had sprung up at home, but also foreigners infected with such alarming errors had come over from the continent. By the Romanists, all these evils were boldly charged upon the Reformation; being represented as proofs, that it was a system of unbridled licentiousness. Irritated by these unjust reflexions, the Reformers occasionally sought to vindicate the purity of their doctrine by the infliction of civil penalties upon incorrigible holders of heretical opinions. In two instances this intolerance led to results which are a foul disgrace to the Protestant cause. An unfortunate woman, named Bocher, who seems to have been insane, or nearly so, had given general disgust by her language respecting

the Saviour's human nature. For this offence, being prosecuted in his court, she was necessarily excommunicated by Cranmer, and after a year's imprisonment, during which many attempts were made to reclaim her, she was burnt alive, in 1550. In the following year, the same horrid punishment overtook Van Parr, a Dutch surgeon of exemplary life, who had been excommunicated as an Arian by the congregation of his own countrymen. These infamous executions took place under the ancient law of England, which, like that of other European countries, treated as capital criminals, all holders of opinions at variance with the sense of Scripture as defined, in some leading particulars, by the first four general councils. Edward's government, therefore, although everlastingly dishonoured by the judicial murders of Bocher and Van Parr, has not thereby contracted an equal stain of guilt with the Romish governments which went before, and which followed it. These condemned not two only, but vast numbers to the stake; and inflicted also this horrid penalty not for the holding of opinions at variance with Scripture, and with authorities universally revered in the Christian Church; but for the rejection of unwritten traditions, resting only upon decrees made under the Pope's immediate influence.

Among evils unconnected with religious principles, the Reformers had to lament the violent death of their fast friend, the Duke of Somerset.

After a confinement of about four months, the nobleman was released from the Tower, and his deliverance was quickly followed by the royal pardon. He was then, to all appearances, completely reconciled to Warwick, and early in the following June, a marriage was brought about between their respective children. Somerset, however, appears to have soon become anxious for the recovery of his power. Nor did it seem unlikely from his own popularity, and from the King's affection for him, that he might attain his object. But his rival, Warwick, now created Duke of Northumberland, was ever upon the watch to render his endeavours vain. Finding this obstacle to his wishes insurmountable, Somerset was tempted by his ambition to think of some scheme for removing Northumberland out of the way by violence. No sooner had he begun to talk upon this criminal design, than a gentleman in whom he confided, betrayed him to his rival. He was then immediately arrested upon charges of plotting to raise an insurrection in the North, and to murder Northumberland, with some others, at an entertainment. Being brought to trial, it was found impossible to substantiate the charge of high treason, but Somerset's integrity would not allow him to deny, that he had gone so far as to talk of murdering Northumberland. He protested, however, that he had never seriously meditated such a crime. His admission, aided by written depositions, for he was not con-

fronted with witnesses, caused him to be found guilty of felony, under a late act of Parliament. Of his execution upon such a ground, the people generally entertained no expectations. But Northumberland was determined not to let him slip. Great pains, accordingly, were taken both to prejudice the young King against his unfortunate uncle, and to prevent him, by means of a constant round of Christmas pastimes, from thinking long upon any serious subject. These artifices prevailing, Somerset was beheaded upon Tower-hill, on the 22nd of January, 1552. He met his end with great firmness and piety, assuring the spectators, that his patronage of the Reformation, while in power, gave him sincere satisfaction, now that he had reached the edge of eternity.

Northumberland, being thus freed from all apprehensions of Somerset's rivalry, set no bounds to his ambitious hopes. The King, who had never been strong, was attacked by the measles, in April, 1552, and before he had thoroughly recovered of that malady, he fell sick of the small-pox. With a view of repairing the injuries thus inflicted upon his constitution, he was taken, as the summer advanced, upon a journey, or progress, as the phrase went when sovereigns travelled. He passed through Surrey, Sussex, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, with great pleasure to himself, but probably, with no material advantage to his health. At the opening of another year, accordingly, he was suf-

fering under an obstinate cough, which threatened the most serious consequences. On the 1st March, a new Parliament assembled, but Edward was unable to meet the two houses in the usual place, and, accordingly, they waited upon him at Whitehall. There, also, the customary sermon was delivered. Bishop Ridley preached, and his hearers were of the highest class, he very naturally dwelt upon the duties of such persons, especially reminding them, that they were bound to bestow a share of their abundance in relieving the poor. The excellent young King was much affected by this discourse, and after dinner, he desired that the preacher should attend him in the gallery of the palace. When Ridley obeyed the call, he was, as usual, bare-headed. Edward, however, mildly said, "Be covered, my Lord, and take a seat by me. I have to thank you most heartily for the sermon you preached this morning. In what you said, I feel myself more concerned than any other person. For my means are the greatest, and my station is the highest in the kingdom. I beseech you, therefore, give me your advice as to how I may best perform the duty which you have shewn to be incumbent upon me." The Bishop was so much overpowered by this unexpected display of goodness, that, after sitting for a short time in silence, he burst into tears. At length, mastering his emotion, he replied, that, indeed, London abounded sadly with objects for compassion, but

that, before pointing out any particular plans for their relief, he could wish to consult with the magistrates of the city. Edward approved this suggestion, and immediately furnished the prelate with a letter demanding the requisite information. A committee of citizens was formed, in consequence, which prepared a report attributing the distress of London to three causes, helpless infancy, sickness, and idleness. In order to relieve the young and the diseased, the Blue-coat and St. Bartholomew's hospitals, founded in the late reign, were confirmed in their present possessions, and endowed with new estates. In order to relieve and reform the idle, the royal palace of Bridewell was appropriated, and a suitable income assigned to it.

These charitable acts were in perfect harmony with the religious and amiable course which Edward habitually trod. Justly, therefore, did the House of Commons, in voting the supplies, say of him, that "his temper was wholly set upon the good of his subjects." But this excellent disposition was lodged in a very feeble frame. Hence the cold upon his lungs which he caught at the beginning of winter, ended, as the spring advanced, in confirmed consumption. His early death thus becoming hardly doubtful, Northumberland hastened to find him a successor among the members of his own family. Henry VIII. had bequeathed the crown, under parliamentary authority, to his two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, successively;

and in case of their deaths without issue, to the children of his two nieces. The elder of these ladies was married to the Duke of Suffolk, and his eldest daughter, the Lady Jane Grey, should Edward and his two half-sisters die childless, was consequently, heir to the throne. This beautiful and accomplished young female was married, about the end of May, to the Lord Guildford Dudley, Northumberland's fourth son: the three elder sons being already married. Sir John Gates, a creature of Northumberland's, then urged the dying King to disinherit his two half-sisters. Both these princesses, he represented, were illegitimate, and Mary, the elder one, was also bigoted so violently to Popery, that she would not fail, if Queen, to overthrow the Protestant religion. Being acted upon by this artful discourse, Edward sent for the judges, and commanded them to prepare a will excluding Mary and Elizabeth from the succession. For some time this command was resisted, but at last the judges yielded to their sovereign's urgency; and moreover, all of them, excepting Sir James Hales, a zealous Protestant, signed the will which they had prepared.

The privy counsellors likewise signed this instrument, but it was long before Cranmer could be prevailed upon to do so. Vainly was the Archbishop assailed by persuasions from the other counsellors, and by overbearing language from Northumberland. He said, that his conscience would

not allow him to sign, and he begged for a private audience of the King, in order to talk with him confidentially upon the subject. It was his opinion, that if he could have seen Edward alone, he would have persuaded him to give up this irregular will. Those who strove to establish it, probably thought the same, and therefore, Cranmer, when admitted into the royal chamber, found persons there to check the freedom of his intercourse with his affectionate young sovereign. By him the Archbishop was earnestly besought not to withhold his signature; the judges having decided, he was assured, that he might lawfully affix it. Cranmer then requested leave to consult the judges, and having done so, he signed the will at Edward's express command. The heads of the law had, probably, informed him, that persons illegitimate, as both the princesses were according to acts of Parliament, were incapable of inheriting. The Archbishop having obliged his sovereign by this unhappy signature, afterwards, together with twenty-three others, put his hand to a paper pledging the oaths and honours of the subscribers to maintain the succession as limited in the royal will. It should be added, that the original draught of this will was wholly in Edward's own hand-writing, and was signed by himself in six different places.

These arrangements being completed, the young King rapidly declined. While thus sinking fast into the grave, a female pretender to the healing

art was absurdly called in to his relief. Under this woman's management the case became daily worse, and the people looked upon her as a tool employed by the Dudleys to poison their beloved sovereign. At length the doctress even grew uneasy, and the physicians were recalled. But it was now too late to hold out any hope of a cure. Edward himself became aware that death was at hand, and he prepared for the parting struggle with unaffected piety. About three hours before his end, as he lay with eyes closed, and seemingly lost to every thing around him, he thus poured out his heart to the Father of mercies: "Lord God, deliver me out of this wretched life, and receive me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit unto thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet for thy chosen's sake send me life and health, that I may truly please thee. O my Lord God, bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from Papistry, and maintain thy true religion; that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ's sake." The utterance of this prayer seems to have somewhat aroused him; and turning his face, he opened his eyes. These meeting his attendants, he was thrown into some confusion. "Are ye so nigh?" the dying youth modestly said, "I thought ye had been farther off."

Remarking his uneasiness, Dr. Owen replied; "We heard your Highness speak: what you said, we know not." Edward, meekly smiling, added; "I was only praying to God." While his soul was hovering upon the very edge of eternity, Sir Henry Sidney held him in his arms, when he suddenly exclaimed, "I am faint; Lord have mercy upon me, and take my spirit." He spoke no more; but instantly expired.

This mournful event occurred at Greenwich, on the 6th of July, 1553, Edward then being in the sixteenth year of his age, and in the seventh of his reign. Though not allowed to live beyond the time of early youth, this prince may justly challenge a high degree of reputation. He joined to confirmed habits of application, a ripeness of understanding rarely seen within his narrow span of life. Archbishop Cranmer watched his progress with all the affectionate interest of a fond parent. He often congratulated Sir John Cheke, even with tears, upon his uncommon good fortune in being entrusted with the charge of such a pupil. Edward, indeed, might justly make his tutor proud. Latin he wrote readily and correctly: nor did he need much forethought even to speak it. In French he was equally well skilled; and he was far from unacquainted with Greek, Spanish, and Italian. He had also made some proficiency in natural philosophy, logic, music, and astronomy. In addition to these accomplishments, the royal youth pos-

essed a graceful person, a winning gentleness of manner, and an easy flow of wit. Astonished at the display of so much excellence in a person of such tender age, a celebrated foreigner pronounced him a miracle of nature. Genius, learning, beauty, and address have, however, often recommended those who wanted sterling worth. But Edward was not thus miserably defective. Early as he was summoned to the grave, and fearfully exposed to temptations as he was from his exalted rank, he never forgot that his duty called him to spread the knowledge of true religion, and to live in strict obedience to God's commands.

CHAPTER IV.

Lady Jane Grey's usurpation—Mary acknowledged Queen—She professes tolerant intentions—Commendone's mission—Pole—Wyat's rebellion—Execution of Lady Jane Grey—Other executions—The Queen's marriage—The Papal Supremacy restored—Imprisonment of Cranmer—Of Ridley—Of Latimer—The three Prelates at Oxford—The persecution begun—Farther proceedings at Oxford—Martyrdom of Ridley and Latimer—Death of Gardiner—Temptation of Cranmer—His dissimulation—His martyrdom—General effect of the persecution—Death of the Queen—Death of Cardinal Pole.

WHEN Edward's death was at hand, the council sent a letter to the Lady Mary, summoning her to court, for the purpose, as it was alleged, of comforting her brother in his sickness. Obeying this call with pleasure, the Princess travelled as far as Hunsdon, on her way towards London. She was there informed of the King's real state, and hence began to suspect that some evil was intended by those who had lately sent for her. She remained, accordingly, at Hunsdon, until a private letter from the Earl of Arundel acquainted her with Edward's decease, and her own danger. She then hastily withdrew from Hertfordshire, and betook herself to Kenninghall, in Norfolk.

Meanwhile, Northumberland and his friends were exerting themselves to secure the crown for Lady Jane Grey. That illustrious young female was then about sixteen years of age. She had been educated chiefly under Aylmer, afterwards Bishop of London, a divine of great learning and abilities. This excellent instructor taught her several languages, and she eagerly availed herself of the greater opportunities of reading thus thrown in her way. The celebrated Ascham, on arriving one day at Bradgate, a seat of her father's in Leicestershire, found most of its inmates hunting in the park. Jane was, however, within doors, reading Plato, in the original Greek, seemingly with lively interest. Astonished at such a sight, Ascham asked her, how she could make up her mind to forego the pleasures which her family and friends were then enjoying? Jane replied with a smile, "I fancy, all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means." Aylmer was a zealous Protestant, as was also Jane's father, the Duke of Suffolk. Her mind was, therefore, early stored with scriptural principles, and she seems to have been in a great measure unacquainted, while a child, with the ensnaring superstitions of Popery. In Romish places of worship may be seen a handsome vessel containing consecrated wafers. To these, as being transubstantiated, according to papal divines, into the body of Christ,

religious honours are usually paid. When very young, Jane was once visiting at New Hall, a seat of the Lady Mary's, in Essex. Passing by the chapel there, Lady Wharton, with whom she was walking, made a low courtesy towards the altar. "Is the Lady Mary there?" enquired Jane. "No," replied her conductress, "I pay this token of reverence to him who made us all." On understanding, that this creative power was thought to dwell in a diminutive cake, Jane rejoined: "How can he have made us all? Why, the baker made him."

At the time of Edward's death, Jane was staying at Chelsea, and she was thence immediately removed, but not at the same time acquainted with the loss of her royal kinsman, to Sion-house, near Brentford. Soon after her arrival there, Northumberland, her father-in-law, paid her a visit, accompanied by some other noblemen, and she was then informed of her accession to the throne. This news having been formally communicated to her, the noble visitors knelt, acknowledged her as their lawful sovereign, and professed themselves willing to shed their blood in her defence. Jane had learnt some time before, that it was intended, in case of her cousin's decease, to place the crown upon her head; but she did not above half believe this intelligence, and she was very far from wishing to find it true. She was, accordingly, quite overpowered by the conduct of Northumberland and his companions. At first, she wept violently. But

tears failed to relieve her, and she soon fell senseless upon the floor. On recovering, she lamented bitterly her cousin's death, and declared herself altogether unequal to supply his place: but she added, turning her eyes to heaven, "If the right be truly mine, O gracious God, give me strength, I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honour, and my country's benefit."

As the case admitted of no delay, Jane was removed in haste to Northumberland's town-residence, Durham-house, in the Strand, and thence by water to the Tower. A splendid procession attended her to this ancient fortress, and the air resounded with artillery as she passed along. No cheering shouts, however, of popular exultation arose to lighten her anxiety, but the crowd gazed idly on the show. A like indifference appeared in those who heard her proclaimed on the evening of the same day. She seems, in fact, to have been scarcely thought of by the people. Her assumption was merely looked upon as a fresh instance of Northumberland's unprincipled ambition. Against that aspiring peer, popular prejudice had reached its height. He lay under the imputation of having persuaded the Protector to take his brother, Lord Seymour's life; of having afterwards persuaded Edward to sacrifice Somerset himself; and as the finish to his villainy, of having now removed the young King by poison. Of such a man, people felt little hesitation in saying that he could have

no other object, than merely to make a shew of placing the royal power in his daughter-in-law's hands, until he should have ripened his plans for seizing the throne himself. While public opinion was thus indifferent or unfriendly, Jane found her happiness within the Tower undermined by domestic uneasinesses. Her husband wished to be crowned with her, as king. She resisted this, and proposed to make him only a duke. Both Guilford and his mother were enraged at such a proposition, and he refused, in consequence, to share his wife's apartment. Amidst these quarrels, it became necessary to send forces against the Lady Mary's friends, and an anxious debate arose as to a commander. Northumberland, aware that his authority in London hung upon a thread, would fain have remained there, and have despatched the Duke of Suffolk into the eastern counties. But Jane earnestly besought for her father's continuance with herself until her situation should become tolerably settled. These entreaties were backed by some of the council, who secretly desired to be relieved from Northumberland's presence, and they received attention the more readily, because Suffolk was known to be utterly unfit for any difficult command. The ambitious father-in-law found himself, accordingly, compelled to depart from London at the head of such forces as were ready for the field. A great throng was drawn into the streets to gaze upon this armament in its passage out of

town, but Northumberland observed with fear and sorrow, that mere curiosity had led the spectators from their homes. Having reached Shoreditch, he remarked with downcast look, "The people press to us, but not one of them saith, God speed you."

Before his departure, the Duke came to an understanding with Suffolk, that the privy councillors should not be allowed to leave the Tower. As many of them were impatient to declare in favour of Mary, they naturally felt very uneasy under this restraint. By way of lulling the suspicions of Suffolk, they pretended, accordingly, to feel the warmest enthusiasm in his daughter's cause; and they persuaded him, that the presence of some among them was urgently required for a short time in the city, both for the sake of advising with the Lord Mayor and aldermen in Jane's behalf, and for the sake of conferring with the foreign ambassadors. Under these pretences, Suffolk allowed various members of the council to repair to Castle-Baynard, a mansion in the heart of the city, occupied by the Earl of Pembroke. One of Lady Jane Grey's sisters was married to this nobleman's son; and hence it was reasonably concluded, that some reliance might be placed upon the father. The released councillors, however, no sooner found themselves under Pembroke's roof, than they determined with one voice to acknowledge Mary for queen. This determination was expressed immediately after a speech, painting Northumberland in the

blackest colours, delivered by the Earl of Arundel, a nobleman lately needlessly forward in professions of attachment to Jane. The Lord Mayor and aldermen being now sent for, approved the decision of the councillors, and the whole party then proceeded to Cheapside-cross, where Mary was proclaimed amidst the loudest acclamations. From the Cross, they adjourned to St. Paul's, and through the lofty aisles of that magnificent church, *Te Deum* instantly pealed in all the charms of choral harmony. As the night closed in, the merry bells resounded, bonfires blazed, ale and wine were distributed in various parts of the town, and money was freely scattered among such as gaily clustered along the streets.

After leaving St. Paul's, the councillors despatched a messenger to the Duke of Suffolk, requiring him to join them in acknowledging Mary's title. The miscalculating peer attempted not to stem the tide; but entering his daughter's apartment, he informed her of the revolution which had just occurred, and exhorted her to bear with calmness her descent into a private station. Without seeming at all moved by this discourse, Jane replied: "This change in my condition, father, is far more agreeable to me, than that of which you recently informed me. In obedience to my mother, and yourself, I then did violence to my inclinations, and I have thereby committed a very serious offence. But the present act is my own. I wil-

lingly resign the royal state; and I shall, indeed, be happy, if mere abdication, and an admission of my fault, shall be considered as an atonement for my mistaken compliance." She then retired into another room, under great uneasiness as to her future safety. During nine anxious and unhappy days had she been surrounded by the pomp of royalty. She now gladly turned her back upon the Tower, in which her senses had been mocked by a feverish dream of greatness. But she was soon compelled to visit it again, returning thither as a prisoner expecting to undergo the penalties of high treason.

On Mary's arrival at Kenninghall, she wrote to the council, gently reprimanding them for omitting to acquaint her with Edward's death, and ordering them to make arrangements for securing her own assumption of the throne. They notified to her in reply, the accession of Jane, and enjoined her, to cease from opposing that lady's claim. Mary also despatched a messenger to Norwich, requiring the mayor to proclaim her there immediately. That magistrate answered, that he had received no news of Edward's death. This intelligence, however, came down shortly afterwards, and Mary was then not only proclaimed, according to her desire, but also arms and ammunition were sent to her from Norwich. She was then at Framlingham castle, in Suffolk, whither she had gone in haste, as being a place both of some strength, and, from

its nearness to the sea, convenient for communicating with her friends abroad. In this fortress, noblemen and gentlemen from the neighbouring country speedily collected around her, and her prospects every day grew brighter. Northumberland was more than ordinarily hateful in the eastern counties, from a recollection of the severity which he had used in crushing Kett's rebellion. The Romanists every where naturally wished well to Mary's cause; and many of the Protestants, who were numerous in Norfolk and Suffolk, held themselves obliged by their religious profession to obey lawful authority. It was besides understood among these conscientious Christians, that Mary had pledged herself to tolerate their religious opinions. While her affairs yet wore a doubtful aspect, six ships despatched from the council to cruise off the coast, being driven into the harbour of Yarmouth, were prevailed upon to declare in her favour; and forces daily flocked to her standard from all parts of the country. Northumberland, having reached Cambridge, learnt that not less than fourteen thousand men awaited her orders; and he moved promptly onwards in the hope of dispersing this assemblage, before it should acquire the habits of an army. But, wherever he came, he found himself unpopular, and his uneasiness was much increased by unceasing desertions, of great extent, among his own troops. At Bury he began to fear that a farther advance was nearly

hopeless ; and he fell back, in consequence, upon Cambridge. Thence he wrote urgently to the council for effective reinforcements. But, instead of them, the council sent down to him orders to disband his followers, and to remain at a distance from London, until Queen Mary's pleasure respecting him should be known. Already had the baffled Duke, however, decided upon abandoning his unfortunate enterprise. He pretended even to be thoroughly satisfied with Mary's accession ; and going into the market-place of Cambridge, when she was proclaimed, he threw up his cap into the air, in token of exultation. But he had sinned past all forgiveness. On the following morning he was arrested by Mary's orders ; and, within a few days afterwards, he reached the Tower of London as a prisoner.

The Queen remained in Suffolk until near the end of July, when she removed to Wanstead, in the neighbourhood of London. There she received a splendid complimentary visit from the Lady Elizabeth. On the third of August the two royal sisters entered London together, on horseback, in a style of great magnificence ; and, according to ancient usage, Mary proceeded to the Tower. On arriving within the walls of this venerable fortress, she saw upon their knees the old Duke of Norfolk, Edward Courtenay, son of the Marquess of Exeter, attainted under King Henry ; the widowed Duchess of Somerset, and Bishop Gardiner. In

their joint names, the prelate congratulated the new sovereign upon her accession, praying that her reign might be long and happy. Mary, raising and saluting the suppliants, courteously said, "These are my prisoners." Orders were immediately given for their release; and Courtenay was restored, on the next day, to his father's title. The following day saw the Bishops Boner and Tunstall at liberty again. Nor were Heath and Day much longer under restraint. All these prelates were, in the course of a short time, restored to their former sees; and thus Romanism regained its ascendancy upon the episcopal bench.

To that religion Mary had ever shewn herself firmly attached; and no threats, arguments, or persuasions, had availed to make her cease from the profession of it during her brother's reign. A general expectation was naturally, therefore, entertained, that it soon would be established again. An aged priest, accordingly, ventured, within a week of her Majesty's arrival in London, to say mass in the church of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield. Exasperated by this unlawful and offensive act, the congregation handled him very roughly when the service was over. A violent fermentation immediately prevailed in London, where Popery was highly unpopular, and the Lord Mayor urged the Queen to restore tranquillity by shewing her determination to punish men who thus dared to defy the laws. Mary heard this address with

anger ; but being justly afraid of trespassing too far upon the public patience, orders were given for taking the aged priest into custody. His imprisonment was, however, intended merely to allay suspicion ; and, after a very short time, he was permitted to make his escape. Meanwhile, the Queen farther endeavoured to allay prevailing uneasinesses, by declaring to the Mayor and Recorder of London, that she meant not to compel the consciences of her subjects, otherwise than by the discourses of able preachers. A divine of that kind, in her opinion, named Bourn, mounted the pulpit at St. Paul's cross, on the following day. His sermon, which was delivered before a very numerous congregation, attacked severely the religious measures of King Edward. This indiscreet language was heard with great impatience ; murmurs arose, caps were thrown into the air, stones, and at length a dagger, were levelled at the preacher. Bourn avoided this deadly weapon, which seems to have been hurled by some fiery young apprentice, by stooping down. His brother then besought Bradford, an eminent Protestant divine who was present, to appease, if possible, the people's fury. The call being readily obeyed, a mild rebuke from the lips of one well known and deservedly respected, soon quelled the outrage. The preacher, who had justly given so much offence, was then led between Bradford, and Rogers, another clergyman of scriptural principles, into St. Paul's school,

where he staid until the crowd had dispersed. Before night, in consequence of this unhappy tumult, orders to call a meeting of the Common Council were sent to the Lord Mayor; and among other arrangements for preserving the peace, upon which that body was to consult, it was to be acquainted with Mary's declaration, uttered two days ago in presence of the Mayor and Recorder, that she did not mean to force the consciences of her subjects. Within a few days afterwards, however, this declaration was unblushingly retracted. A royal proclamation, then issued, informed the people, that her Majesty did not mean to compel any of her subjects to profess her own religion, "until such time as further order by common assent may be taken therein." These words plainly mean, that Mary would forbear from attempting to Romanise the nation by force, just so long as Parliament should deny her the requisite powers, and no longer. Upon this hint as to the Queen's intentions, many clergymen immediately restored the mass, and their unlawful act evidently gave satisfaction to the court. Nay more, such of the clerical body as continued to use the English service, found themselves intolerably harassed by vexatious proceedings, which their superiors encouraged.

Mary was emboldened thus early and completely to throw off the mask, from the promising aspect soon worn by her affairs. Northumberland, lately her ablest enemy, was not only brought to the

block without a single movement in his favour, but he was also led, by the hope of pardon, to profess himself a Romanist after his condemnation, and to die libelling the Protestant religion. The Queen's bigotry was also inflamed, and her spirits were raised, by Commendone, a papal emissary, who contrived to see her soon after she arrived in London. This artful Italian had been sent over secretly from Brussels, by the Pope's ambassador there, immediately on Edward's death. Before Commendone sailed for England, he hired two servants, one thoroughly master of French, the other of English, to act as his guides and interpreters. To these men he represented that he was nephew of an Italian merchant, lately dead in London, and that he wanted to visit that capital for the purpose of winding up his uncle's affairs there. When arrived in the English metropolis, he found it in a very unquiet state, and he learnt, with much uneasiness, that great pains were taken to prevent the Queen from holding any confidential communication with foreigners, especially with such as might be likely to serve the Pope, or the Emperor. At length he met with an Englishman, named Lee, a strict Romanist, whom he had formerly known in Italy, and who was now employed in the royal household. After some conversation with this person, Commendone informed him of his object in coming to England, and prevailed upon him to devise the means of his introduction

o the Queen. Mary heartily welcomed her Italian visitor, and expressed her anxiety for a reconciliation with Rome; but she complained that her movements were very closely watched, and her authority as yet but imperfectly established. Hence it would be necessary, she said, to proceed, for the present, as to religion, with secrecy and caution. Of this Commendone was fully persuaded: and he, therefore, threw out hints of the safety with which Popery might regain its former ascendancy, if her Majesty would strengthen herself by marrying the Emperor's son. In another private audience, Mary furnished Commendone with a letter to the Pope in her own hand-writing, pledging herself to restore the papal influence over England. Having thus completely succeeded, the wily foreigner took his leave; and on the day after Northumberland's execution, he set out upon a hasty journey into his native land.

In his way to Rome, Commendone was directed to call upon an English cardinal, once an object of general conversation, but who latterly had lived in close retirement. Reginald Pole, born in the year 1500, was a younger son of Sir Richard Pole, a Welch gentleman, and of Margaret Plantagenet, niece to Edward IV. Being intended for the Church, his royal kinsman, Henry VIII. conferred upon the young Reginald, though not in priests' orders, the deanery of Exeter, and other benefices, for the sake of enabling him to complete his edu-

cation, by studying upon the continent. He spent accordingly, some time in the university of Padua and he there deservedly gained a very considerable degree of reputation. His attainments, in fact, were above those of ordinary scholars ; and as his morals were correct, and his manners courtly, he naturally passed for one of the most illustrious among the learned of his day. An individual of princely rank, thus personally recommended, could not fail, under ordinary circumstances, of rising to the highest dignities of a profession. But Pole early placed a bar in the way of his elevation, by siding with Catharine of Aragon. His relative and sovereign, however, who highly valued him, bore this opposition with sufficient temper. Henry continued, indeed, his good opinion of him, even after his own quarrel with Rome ; and hence he sent to him, in Italy, various pieces against the papal usurpation, hoping that they would open his eyes to the propriety of recent proceedings in England. Pole answered this appeal to his judgment, by sending over a treatise which he had written upon the Unity of the Church : a violent and libellous work, highly disgraceful to him as a divine, a scholar, and a gentleman. Soon after he had thus exposed himself, he went to Rome, where he was received with great honour, and created a cardinal. His acceptance of this distinction from one who had pretended to dethrone his sovereign, was reasonably taken as a proof of his determination to

engage himself with the enemies of England. He was, therefore, very fairly stripped of his preferments, and declared a traitor. In thus calling him, it soon appeared, that no injustice had been done. While the northern rebellion raged in England, he undertook a mission into Flanders, for the purpose of watching there the motions of the rebels, and of rendering them any assistance that might be in his power. This infamous errand led only to the Cardinal's mortification, both from the defeat of his misguided countrymen before he reached the place to which he was bound, and from the slights which he received in France and the Netherlands. This lesson, however, was lost upon Pole; and, accordingly, at the end of little more than twelve months he left Rome, in disguise, upon another mission, of which the object was to persuade the Emperor into an invasion of England. In this plan he likewise wholly failed; and he continued henceforth unconnected with English politics. At one time he was employed as governor of a district subject to the Pope; at another, as papal legate to the council at Trent. When Edward died, Pole was living without any public engagement, at a Benedictine monastery upon the lake Garda.

He had no sooner been acquainted there with the demise of his youthful sovereign, than he sent a friend to Rome, for the purpose of persuading the Pope to take advantage, if possible, of the change

which had lately happened in English affairs. His Holiness, however, needed not this admonition. Upon the first intelligence from our island, he wrote to Pole for his opinion as to the course which circumstances required. At the end of two or three days from the date of this letter, news reached Rome, that Mary had gained possession of the crown. Pole was then immediately appointed papal legate for England. Nothing could be more agreeable to him than this office, and he lost no time in opening a correspondence with the Queen. Mary was rejoiced to communicate with him again, and she longed to receive him as legate. But she found herself obliged to delay this pleasure. It was contrary to law to admit any legate from the Pope into England, and Pole lay under an act of attainder passed against him for his treasons committed in King Henry's reign. Some parliamentary repeals were, therefore, necessary, not only before he could be received in his official capacity, but also before he could set his foot at all upon English ground. He was, besides, generally detested among his countrymen, the office of papal legate was no less so, and the Romish religion was not yet restored by law. Bishop Gardiner, now Lord Chancellor, urged these considerations upon the Queen, warning her, that haste in restoring Popery would not only be likely to defeat that object altogether, but also to drive her from the throne. The Emperor warmly seconded this

ine of argument. Charles had, indeed, two reasons for desiring to see the sceptre firmly placed in Mary's hands. As a nephew of her mother's, and a firm friend in all her own difficulties, he could reckon upon her alliance, which was of great importance to him in baffling the power of France. He was likewise anxious to secure her hand for his son Philip, then a widower, and thus unite the dominions of England with those of Spain. Obviously, hasty measures, distasteful to the English nation, were likely to ruin the Spanish policy in both these respects. Pole's early return to his country could hardly fail, however, to cause a violent ferment among the people, and the Cardinal's conduct upon all difficult occasions in which he had been concerned, had been such as to make discerning men doubt the soundness of his judgment. Besides these causes, there was another why Charles desired to detain the Cardinal abroad for some time longer. Mary had been chiefly educated in the house of his mother, and it was commonly believed that she had grown up with something of a tender attachment towards himself. She certainly asked Commendone whether, inasmuch as he had only taken deacon's orders, a papal dispensation might not render it lawful for him to marry? Reginald himself, indeed, was thought to have entertained hopes of wedding his royal cousin, and thereby of mounting the throne. To these hopes have been attributed, with great

probability, his disgraceful fibels, and his, perhaps more disgraceful treasons. He did not begin to shew these offensive features in his character, until the young Princess, who had grown up under his eye, was declared illegitimate, and incapable of inheriting. Still, it was observed, although become cardinal, he had never entered into priest's orders. Hence it was concluded, that he was unwilling to give up entirely a long-cherished hope of matching with his mother's royal pupil.

Mary had also meditated, soon after her accession, upon a marriage with Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. But that young nobleman fell into dissipated habits, which rendered him unworthy to share the throne of his relative and sovereign. Pole, therefore, being prevented from returning home, Charles's ambassador was enabled to press successfully the suit of his master's son. Mary's intention to marry Philip was, however, most unpopular among her subjects. Gardiner long opposed it, but finding the Queen resolved upon it, he strove to conclude the match upon terms advantageous for England. This patriotic object he fully accomplished, but the people were not satisfied. If their sovereign should marry the Prince of Spain, it was thought, that inquisitors would soon establish themselves in all parts of England, and that the national independence would receive a blow from which recovery was hopeless. While the bulk of men were giving vent to these gloomy

Conspirators, a few persons of note planned an insurrection. The Duke of Suffolk undertook to raise the midland counties, Sir Peter Carew, Cornwall, and Sir Thomas Wyatt, Kent. Suffolk's enterprise failed entirely, no disposition being shewn to join his standard. Carew was discovered at the outset of his operations, and he saved himself by a hasty flight to France. Wyatt collected a very formidable assemblage, in which Romanists were mingled with Protestants; the Spanish match being the sole cause alleged for discontent. In the hope of arresting his progress, the Duke of Norfolk was promptly despatched from London, but he found himself unequal to face the rebels, and, accordingly, retreated. Wyatt, therefore, marched on to Southwark without opposition. After staying there two days, being unable to force London-bridge, he advanced to Kingston. Thirty feet of the bridge at that place had been broken down, in expectation of his approach, but a hasty repair soon overcame this difficulty, and he met with no farther opposition in his way towards London. It was about nine o'clock in the morning of Ash-Wednesday, when he reached Hyde-park. The Queen was advised by some of her friends to take refuge in the Tower, but she refused to leave Whitehall, or even to discontinue there the customary devotions of the day. Some of Wyatt's principal companions wished him to march onwards by the upper road, through Holborn, as being the less frequented

lent qualities all the world acknowledged, had been cut off in early youth. If Suffolk, however, had not been tempted to crime and folly by his unfortunate connexion with the royal family, his general propriety of conduct would, doubtless, have enabled him to pass through life in comfort and respectability. His brother, and Sir Thomas Wyat soon followed him to the scaffold. The latter is treated for his life in the most abject terms, and at one time, in the hope of obtaining favour with the Queen, he had accused the Lady Elizabeth, and Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire. Before his death, Wyat retracted the greater part, if not the whole of these accusations. In consequence, the two parties were transferred from the Tower, in which they had been imprisoned, to places of restraint in the country. Elizabeth was sent to Woodstock; Courtenay to the castle of Fotheringay. Soon after the Queen's marriage, both these distinguished persons were set at large, but Elizabeth continued an object of suspicion during the whole of her sister's reign. Within a short time of his release, Courtenay travelled into Italy; where he quickly died.

In the last autumn, Parliament had passed an act confirming the marriage between the Queen's parents, and another abolishing all King Edward's laws as to religion. Mary, therefore, was now formally declared legitimate; and the old Latin service was lawfully restored. The act, however, for

this latter purpose, was not passed by the Commons until after a violent opposition. The Lower House, indeed, although many of its members were chosen under orders from the court, proved somewhat unmanageable. Hence, after sitting a short time, the Parliament was dissolved. A new one was summoned in the spring, and it ratified the matrimonial treaty lately concluded with Spain. The Queen's marriage with Philip being thus nationally approved, was solemnized in the Cathedral of Winchester, by Bishop Gardiner, on the 25th of July, 1554. Mary was then thirty-nine years of age, her husband was twenty-seven. Within three months of Philip's arrival in England, treasure sufficient to fill twenty carts was sent over to him, and it was, probably, then made known, that a farther importation of the same kind was quickly to be expected. In the following January, in fact, ninety-nine horses and two carts, bearing gold and silver for Philip's use, went in gladdening procession through the streets to the Tower of London. It is plain, that such an immense mass of property afforded to the crown ample means of corruption, and it is not denied, in any quarter, that Philip actually did make very considerable presents to those Englishmen who promoted his interests. Protestant authors, however, affirm, that the work of corruption had been in full operation during several months before the Prince of Spain's arrival in England; pensions

tlement of his affairs. Every claim against him was fully satisfied, and hence, when deprived of his income, it was found that he had not a single creditor. Having thus rendered himself unable to injure others by any misfortunes that might overtake him, his mind was greatly relieved. "Thank God," he piously said, "I am now mine own man. I can now, God being my helper, answer all the world with a good conscience, and face any adversities which may be laid upon me."

While awaiting the gathering storm in this happy frame of mind, the malicious tongues of his enemies again forced him upon the public notice. It had been reported, soon after Mary's triumph over the opposition to her claim, that, anxious to gain favour with the successful party, he had offered to officiate in the Romish manner at Edward's funeral. As the young King was buried according to the English liturgy, the falsity of this rumour was quickly seen. Another of the same kind, however, immediately supplied its place. It became known that mass had been restored in the cathedral of Canterbury, and this fact was urged as a manifest proof of the Archbishop's time-serving disposition. But the truth is, that the Romish worship had been thus hastily and unlawfully used again by order of the sub-dean, who then, the dean being abroad, governed the cathedral. Thornden was the sub-dean's name, and he was the very person who had, several years before, been active in a conspiracy

against Cranmer, after having received the kindest treatment from him. Grieved and angry to find his character again suffering by means of one who had already caused him so much pain, the Archbishop drew up a declaration against the mass, in which he offered publicly to maintain his opinions, and in which he spoke of Thornden with great, but not with undeserved severity. The writing lay in a window of his apartment, when Bishop Scory chanced to pay him a visit. That prelate read it, and when he left Lambeth, he took away a copy of it : whether or no by the Archbishop's leave is not certainly known. Scory soon allowed the paper to fall into the hands of a third person. Another copy of it was now taken, and this was publicly read in Cheapside. All London immediately burned to see it, and the services of every hackney-writer being quickly put in requisition, within a very short space of time, Cranmer's declaration was circulated through the whole metropolis. The Archbishop's case appears hitherto to have perplexed his enemies. It is true, that he had offended the Queen at the outset of his public life by promoting the divorce of her mother. But Gardiner, now basking in the sunshine of royal favour, had done the same. Cranmer had also signed Edward's will, and afterwards acted with those who were endeavouring to carry it into execution. But, then, he had signed it late, and most unwillingly, and he had not been at all slower in acknowledging Mary,

on Jane's failure, than many others whom her Majesty had readily pardoned. Besides, the Queen lay under personal obligations to Cranmer. Henry had been so much enraged at one time by her opposition to his will, that he had thoughts of sending her to the Tower. It was Cranmer's mild persuasions which turned him from this purpose. Mary, therefore, however she might detest the Archbishop for his Protestant principles, could hardly take measures for his ruin, until she found some new pretence for doing so. This was at once afforded by the circulation of the paper which he had written against the mass. He was immediately summoned to the Star-chamber, and there Bishop Heath asked him, if he were not sorry, that this paper had been sent into circulation. The Archbishop replied, that he was sorry for its appearance so early. "It was my intention," he said, "to have drawn up a longer piece, and to have affixed it, authenticated by my seal, upon the doors of St. Paul's, and of other churches in London."

This avowal occasioned a long and serious debate in the council. It was evident, that if at liberty, the Archbishop would not remain tamely silent during the overthrow of that religious system upon which he had so long laboured. On the contrary, he plainly had made up his mind to come boldly forward, and expose every argument by which the Romish party might endeavour to recommend their peculiar opinions. Conduct of this kind was, in-

deeds, plainly called for both by Cranmer's rank in the Church, and by the part which he had taken during several years. Nor did the laws in force restrain any man from attacking the traditions of Popery. Under these difficulties it was found necessary to make out a case as aggravated as possible against the Archbishop, in order to justify his arrest. The councillors, accordingly, though in general themselves fully as blameable during the Lady Jane's late attempt, had the face to make Cranmer's conduct in this affair a ground of accusation against him. They thought it "convenient," as they said, that he should be sent to the Tower, both on account of the treason which he had committed against the Queen, and on account of "the seditious bills" which he had recently published. He had not lain many weeks in prison, before he was iniquitously put upon his trial, together with Jane; her husband, and one of her brothers-in-law, for having lent his aid in that unhappy young lady's usurpation. All the four pleaded guilty; but Cranmer appealed to his judges for their testimony as to the difficulty with which he was brought to commit the offence which caused his present trouble. His act, he protested, had been forced upon him under the advice of learned lawyers, and he, therefore, expressed his earnest hope that the royal mercy would not be denied him. To suffer for his religion he was, probably, prepared, but his mind naturally shrank from the disgrace of dying as a

malefactor. After his condemnation, he wrote, accordingly, to the Queen, urgently suing for pardon. But Mary seems not to have favoured him with any answer, although it is likely, that she never had entertained any serious thoughts of executing him as a traitor. Without an utter contempt of decency, she could, indeed, hardly inflict this punishment upon one who had stood her friend in adversity, because he had afterwards offended her in an instance which she had overlooked in so many others. The reasons, therefore, of Cranmer's trial for treason, and subsequent attainder must be sought in a desire to take from him the profits, and the powers attached to his Archbishopric. Being deprived of these as a matter of course, on his condemnation, he was allowed quietly to remain in prison until arrangements should be completed for burning him as a heretic.

On Jane's usurpation of the crown, Bishop Ridley was required by the council to preach in her favour, at St. Paul's cross. In obeying this order, he chiefly dwelt upon Mary's bigoted attachment to Popery, and upon her obstinate refusal of information respecting Protestantism. These views of her character he verified by relating the particulars of a conversation which had lately passed between her and himself. No sooner, however, did Jane's cause appear hopeless, than Ridley, like many other persons of distinction, hastened to make his apologies, and offer his submission to the

successful claimant. Most of these repentant arrivals were heartily welcomed at Framlingham-castle. But Ridley found himself not so fortunate. Mary received him with anger, and ordered his committal to the Tower.

Bishop Latimer was exercising his ministry near Coventry, when Edward died. There, he received a summons to attend the council. Ample time was, however, allowed for his escape after the serving of this notice; no doubt intentionally. But the good old man, scorning to flee, cheerfully travelled up to London. In his way through Smithfield, the scene of so many horrid martyrdoms, he said resignedly, "This place has long groaned for me." When before the council, he was brow-beaten and insulted: unworthy usage which aroused his manly spirit of honest independence. He thus afforded a pretence for treating him with severity, and, accordingly, upon the ground of his "seditious demeanour," he was lodged in the Tower.

Thus were the three principal pillars of English Protestantism all detained within the same prison. At first they seem to have been allowed separate chambers, and to have commonly received a reasonable degree of indulgence. Latimer, however, underwent considerable inconvenience, in the early part of winter, from the want of a fire. But Wyatt's rebellion caused every prison to overflow, and the three prelates, together with Mr. Bradford, were, in consequence, all confined in a single room.

From this inconvenience, the pious party resolve to draw some solid advantage. Expecting daily to be called in question for their faith, and accounting transubstantiation the corner-stone of Popery, the four divines read over together, with great attention, the whole New Testament, for the purpose of examining afresh how far encouragement is afforded in it to Romish views of the Lord's Supper. Their examination ended in a renewed conviction, that the sacred writers have left nothing upon record by which Romanists can prove their doctrines respecting the mass.

Early in the spring of 1554, the three prelates were called upon to maintain in a public disputation the opinions which they had formed upon this important subject. Oxford was the place chosen for this display of skill in divinity; and to that ancient abode of learning, accordingly, were these illustrious prisoners conveyed. They were allowed to carry nothing besides the clothes which they wore, and on reaching Oxford, they were lodged in the common gaol there, as the vilest criminals. The doctrines upon which they were required to dispute were three; namely, 1. That certain words uttered by the priest change the sacramental bread and wine, into the very same body and blood which Christ took of the Virgin Mary. 2. That there then remains no substance whatsoever but that of Christ, God and man, 3. That in the mass is offered a propitiatory sacrifice for sins both of the

ving and the dead. Cranmer's approbation of these articles was first demanded before commissioners from the Convocation and the two Universities, assembled on a Saturday afternoon in St. Mary's church. The Archbishop entered that noble building surrounded by javelin-men, and leaning upon his staff, made a low obeisance. A seat was offered to him, but he declined it. When shewn the three articles, he read them attentively over several times, and after asking some questions as to the precise meaning of certain words used in expressing them, he pronounced all these doctrines false and contrary to God's holy Word. He was then told, that he must write his mind upon the three articles, in the course of that very evening, and be ready to dispute in support of his opinions on the following Monday morning. Seldom had Cranmer appeared to more advantage, than upon this occasion. His humble yet undaunted carriage affected violently the best feelings of those around him, and the eyes of several masters of arts, who disapproved his principles, streamed with tears as they rested upon this impressive spectacle of fallen greatness, and Christian meekness.

The Archbishop being led back again to the gaol, Ridley was brought into St. Mary's, from the house of an alderman, where he had been confined during the last two days. When shewn the three articles, he said at once, "They are all false, they spring from a sour and bitter root." He was then

asked whether he would maintain his opinions in a disputation? "While God gives me life," he replied, "he shall not only have my heart, but also my tongue and my pen to defend his truth. Let me, however, have my books, and sufficient time to prepare myself for this disputation." He was answered, that he could not be supplied with his own books and papers; nor allowed longer time for preparation than the interval between that day, and the following Tuesday; but that he might have the use of such authors as he should require. On this he observed, that it was hard to be deprived of helps prepared by his own industry, and to be called upon for a defence of important truths on so short a notice. He was then desired to draw up written answers to the three articles in the course of the night. After which the officers were ordered to remove him.

The venerable Latimer was then led forward, bending under the weight of years and infirmities. On his head were two or three caps, together with a handkerchief; a pair of spectacles hung by a string upon his breast, and in his hand was a staff. Being seated, the three articles were shewn to him, and he pronounced them false. He was now told, that he must dispute in defence of his opinions on the next Wednesday. The old man replied, "From age, lack of books, and sickness, I am almost as meet to be captain of Calais, as to dispute. But I will declare my mind as to these articles,

either in writing, or by word of mouth; and I will stand to all that you can lay upon my back. I must, however, complain of ill usage. I have been allowed neither pen nor ink; nor any book, save this New Testament, which I have read over deliberately seven times. But I can find no mass in it, nor yet the marrow-bones, nor sinews of the same." It appears, that Latimer had been used to talk thus of the mass in his sermons; intending thereby to ridicule, probably, the Romish doctors, who say, that in the consecrated bread and wine, are truly contained every bone, muscle, and nerve of Christ's natural body. Often had his hearers been amused by his talent for placing in a ludicrous light such things as he thought at once absurd and mischievous. Hence those around old father Latimer, as he was ordinarily called, now reckoned upon hearing some witty remarks upon the startling notions by which Romanists labour to exalt the mass. A violent rush was, accordingly, made towards the place where the aged prisoner sat. But his observations were abruptly stopped, and he was taken back to the house which had served as his prison during the last two days.

On the following Monday, Cranmer was called upon to dispute in defence of his opinions, and short as was the time allowed to him for preparation, he displayed great learning and ability. The treatment which he received was shameful: interruptions, reproaches, hissing, hooting, and the

clapping of hands assailing him on every side. A ill spirit of insulting outrage was allowed to disgrace the divinity-school, when Ridley was brought thither the following day. He too, though deeply wounded by the foul usage with which he met, argued powerfully against the traditions of Popery. Latimer wholly refused to dispute, alleging that he was disqualified for any such purpose, by age, infirmity, and want of conveniences for study. But he brought with him into the school a confession of his faith, which he desired to have read. Even the writing of this, he declared, had cost him considerable pains, his habit of late having been to use the pens of others when he wished to commit any thing to paper. "After you have read this account of my belief," the good old preacher nobly said, "you may do your pleasure with me." But neither Latimer's admirable resignation, nor the extreme weakness which evidently bowed him down, softened the hearts of those who stood around. On the contrary, taunts, hisses, and laughter continually met his ears.

On the following Friday, the three prelates were brought together into St. Mary's church, and informed, that, having been overcome in disputation, they were now merely called upon to answer, whether or no they would sign the articles which had been discussed. Cranmer said, "You have affirmed, that I can neither maintain my own errors, nor maintain the verity. All this is untrue.

could not, however, answer as I desired, unless had chosen to brawl with your party; so thickly, one upon the other, did their reasons come. Ever and anon four or five interrupt me; so that I could not speak what I would." Latimer and Ridley merely replied, that they would stand to the opinions which they had already delivered. The three were then placed together, and a written sentence was read pronouncing them excommunicated, and condemning as heretics themselves, and all who favoured them. When the reader had gone through a part only of this, he stopped short, and the prisoners were asked whether they would recant? "Read on in the name of God," was their unanimous reply. The reading being ended, Cranmer said, "From this your judgment and sentence, I appeal to the just judgment of Almighty God, trusting to be present with Him in heaven." Ridley thus addressed his judges, "Although I be not of your company, yet I doubt not that my name is written in another place, whither this sentence will send us sooner than would, in all probability, the common course of nature." The venerable Latimer's answer was, "I thank God most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end; that I may in this case glorify God by this kind of death."

The week of injustice was concluded by a grand mass, celebrated on Saturday morning, and attended by one of those shewy processions which,

among other such deceitful vanities, help the Roman Church to charm the senses of men without enlightening their minds. A consecrated wafer was borne under a canopy, supported by four doctors robed in scarlet. While this impious pageant was slowly winding through the streets of Oxford and honoured by the bended knee on every side. Cranmer was obliged to remain at the gratings of his cell in the gaol. Ridley was also made to present himself at a window in the house in which he was detained. The bailiff, who served as Latimer's keeper, lived in a situation which allowed no view of the unchristian shew. His prisoner was, therefore, ordered to follow him into the street. The good old man, being left unacquainted with the reason of this summons, naturally supposed that he was immediately to glorify God at the stake. He said, accordingly, "Make a quick fire;" and cheerfully followed at his gaoler's bidding. Having reached Carfax, his eye caught the cherished object of a Romanist's adoration. Latimer had, however, with honest, humble diligence, pondered the Word of God; and hence he had become aware, that to bestow upon the petty produce of a baker's ordinary toil the honours due to Omnipotence alone is plain impiety and folly. Nor could he forget, that as a Christian is to shine like a light in the world, he is bound to rebuke by example, at least, if not by words, the spiritual blindness of all around him. The little cake, accordingly,

so madly worshipped by the people, had no sooner met his sight, than he turned his back upon it, and retreated into a neighbouring shop, with as much speed as his infirmities allowed him. Nor would he look towards the street until the procession had entirely passed.

But although the three prelates were now formally condemned as heretics, it was found that they could not lawfully be put to death under that character. It was, indeed, true, that burning was the penalty barbarously provided by the common law for individuals convicted of heresy. That name was, however, given by the same law only to the denial of the sense of Scripture in some leading articles as defined by the councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon: the first four general councils, as they are called. A denial of the traditions which make up Popery, had not been rendered a capital offence until the passing of laws against Lollardy; and these laws as yet stood repealed. So long, therefore, as the court should find itself unable to obtain the re-enactment of these bloody laws, it was plainly contrary to the constitution to burn the three prelates. Under this difficulty, some of the council appear to have recommended that Cranmer should be executed as a traitor. But to say nothing of other objections against the following of this advice, it would evidently have been a gross injustice thus to punish the Archbishop, when so many others, at least

equally guilty, not only had been freely pardoned, but also were high in the Queen's favour. The case of Cranmer and his two friends was, accordingly, suffered to stand over for future consideration. It was intended, there can be no doubt, to revive the statutes against Lollardy upon the first opportunity, and until that end could be accomplished, it was, probably, judged expedient merely to detain the three prelates in safe custody.

They were treated generally during their long imprisonment at Oxford with considerable harshness. Cranmer's keeper often refused him the comfort of seeing messengers from Ridley and Latimer. All the three were occasionally denied the use of pen and ink, and thus found themselves unable to write unless by underhand means. This hardship, so grievous upon men who had spent their whole lives amidst learned occupations, drove Ridley sometimes to tear off strips of lead from the casements of his chamber, in order to use them as pencils, and to write his observations upon the margins of books. That excellent prelate's discomforts were also increased by the bigotry of an ill-natured woman in whose husband's house he was ordinarily detained. Both Ridley and Cranmer availed themselves of every opportunity to write in defence of a scriptural faith, and they contrived, under all their difficulties and discouragements, to prepare a considerable mass of controversial matter. To such labours Latimer was now

quite unequal; but he repeatedly read over the whole New Testament with eager and delighted attention. His time, however, was chiefly spent in earnest prayer. So long was it his habit to remain thus engaged, that, without help, he was often unable to rise from his knees. He brought, indeed, to the struggle only the wreck of a bodily frame, and he suffered, in consequence, more severely than either of his friends. At one time he was even bereft of reason, but this great calamity soon passed away, and his honest mind again firmly rested upon that inheritance of eternal peace which had ever been the great object of his hopes. The scholarly employments amid which Cranmer and Ridley contrived to spend the greater part of their time, seldom allowed their spirits to flag. At intervals, however, the solitude, suspense, confinement, and other hardships which they underwent so long, afflicted them with a season of depression. Ridley complains, accordingly, of having sometimes felt "a lumpish heaviness in his heart." But these gloomy hours rolled quickly by, and in their place returned the cheering prospect of happiness above. Under all their troubles the prelates received great comfort and encouragement from the kind remembrance of their friends at liberty. Little services were secretly and gladly rendered to them by various townsmen of Oxford. Provisions, money, and linen reached them from London. Ridley's heart overflowed with pious thankfulness when he found

his trials thus mercifully lightened. "It is God's work, surely," he wrote; "blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness." Again he says, when speaking of those who so seasonably relieved his necessities: "I know for whose sake they do it: to Him, therefore, be all honour, glory, and due thanks."

At length, about the end of 1554, the laws against Lollardy, that is, against a denial of the papal traditions, were disgracefully revived. Before January closed, preparations were made for acting upon the powers thus acquired by an intolerant court; some of the leading Protestants imprisoned in London being then called before Bishop Gardiner to answer for their opinions. As they stood immoveably firm in the faith which holy Scripture had taught them, they were mercilessly sentenced to the stake. John Rogers, formerly known as an editor of the English Bible, and latterly, as an esteemed preacher in London, was the foremost in that "noble army of martyrs" of whom the reformed Church of England has to boast. He was burnt in Smithfield, on the 4th of February, before an immense crowd of admiring beholders. Four days afterwards, Laurence Saunders, an exemplary and zealous clergyman, met with the same cruel death at Coventry. On the following day, Bishop Hooper and Dr. Rowland Taylor offered up their lives by fire; the former at Gloucester, lately his episcopal see, the latter on Aldham-common, a waste adjoin-

ing the parish of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, where he had lived several years as rector. Nothing could exceed the courage and piety with which all these victims underwent the horrors of the blazing pile. Nor could any thing act more injuriously upon the Romish cause than this atrocious outpouring of intolerance. Amazement, indignation, and disgust filled the whole kingdom. Unfeeling Romish bigots were disappointed, because the savage experiments made by the leaders of their party had wholly failed to overawe their adversaries. Timid Protestants were encouraged by the noble constancy displayed among their friends. The mass of men who live in stupid forgetfulness of God, were aroused from their lethargy of sensuality, covetousness, or vanity to think seriously upon the principles which could enable the mind of man to brave such frightful agonies contentedly, and even also exultingly. All natives were willing to believe, that these revolting cruelties were not of English growth, and they charged them upon those foreign councillors, now high in Mary's confidence, who had been bred in a country rendered infamous by the Inquisition. As if promptly to wipe away this reproach from his nation, Philip's confessor preached at court, on the 10th of February, against religious persecution. During the next five weeks no more holy martyrs were called upon to seal the truth with their blood. But after that short respite, the fires of persecution blazed again. The infamous

task of feeding them with victims was chief thrown upon Boner, Bishop of London. A denial of transubstantiation was the main pretence for all this miserable slaughter. A disbelief of other Romish tenets might be hidden, or explained away. But the papal priesthood, wherever it is uppermost, thrusts upon the eye at every turn, its pretended power of changing a wafer-cake into the incarnate Saviour. Unless, therefore, men living among Papists, will consent to bow the knee before this leading object of Romish idolatry, it cannot long continue unknown, that they have turned their backs upon articles of faith incapable of proof from Scripture.

In September, 1555, Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, went down to Oxford, under authority from the Pope, to sit in judgment upon Cranmer, who was brought before him guarded by the officers of justice. Inasmuch, however, as his commission came from an usurped foreign power, the Archbishop very properly refused to shew him any mark of reverence, although he respectfully made obeisance to the two royal proctors who sat below him. Offended by this conduct, Brookes observed, that the situation which he then filled entitled him to more courteous usage. Cranmer answered, "I have advisedly and solemnly sworn never to consent again to admit the Bishop of Rome's authority within this realm of England. I cannot, therefore, do any thing which may bear even an appearance

of my consent to the re-admission of this foreign authority." Being called upon for his defence, the Archbishop offered many proofs, that the Pope's claims are at variance with the constitution of England. He then blamed severely the Romish usage of saying prayers in an unknown tongue; and he offered to give up his opposition to transubstantiation, if any man could prove that doctrine to have been affirmed by the Church during the first thousand years after Christ. Many charges were now brought against him, some of which, as, for instance, his two marriages, he admitted; others he shewed to be frivolous, or false. The whole proceedings were spread over two mornings; and their conclusion was the serving of a notice upon Cranmer, citing him to appear at Rome within eighty days. He was mocked by this order, because the papal forms forbid the condemnation of an archbishop without the Pope's especial interference. In answer to the citation, he said, "I shall willingly go to Rome, if the Queen will allow me the means." As heretofore, however, he was remanded to his old quarters in the city-gaol, and closely confined there without money. Of course, therefore, when the eighty days expired, neither the Archbishop, nor any advocate hired to plead his cause, had appeared in Rome. This omission, which all the world knew he had no means of helping, was made the ground of his condemnation. He was pronounced con-

tumacious, that is, obstinately bent upon making no appearance, and sentence was passed upon him accordingly.

On the last day of September, Bishop Brooke and others acting under a commission from Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's legate, summoned Ridley and Latimer before them. When the former of these prelates was brought forward, he stood before the court bareheaded, with that air of polished courtesy which had attended him through life. The commission was now read, of course, reciting its authority from Rome. Ridley no sooner heard this clause, than he put on his cap; and he continued covered until the clerk had ceased to read. One of the commissioners then remonstrated with him, urging that he and his brethren ought to receive the customary marks of honour, inasmuch as they represented the Pope and the Cardinal. The reverend prisoner answered, taking off his cap, that he would willingly treat Pole with all humility, reverence, and honour, upon account of his royal birth, and his manifold graces of learning and virtue; but he added, again covering his head, "As legate to the Bishop of Rome, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto the Cardinal, lest my behaviour in doing thus should be prejudicial to mine oath, and in derogation to the verity of God's Word." He was then told, that if he persisted in remaining covered, his cap would be removed by force, unless illness were alleged as

the reason for keeping it on. Ridley said, that he could assign no such reason, being then sufficiently well at ease; that he did not stand bare-headed, only from a desire to shew his contempt for the Bishop of Rome's usurpation; and that as for plucking his cap off his head, he cared not whether it was done, or no. After three admonitions, this *was* done; and the prisoner was then exhorted, at great length, to profess Popery once more. He met this exhortation by maintaining, that Popery was a new religion, sprung up during the dark ages, and incapable of proof either from Scripture, or from the records of ancient Christianity. "Wherefore," he concluded, "I prefer the antiquity of the primitive Church before the novelty of the Romish Church." Being found firm in his opinions, he was excommunicated, on the following morning, as obstinately denying, that Romish priests bring down Christ bodily from heaven in the mass; that words then spoken by them change the bread and wine into the Saviour's natural body and blood; and that in this service they offer up a sacrifice beneficial both to the living and dead.

Latimer, like Ridley was twice brought before the commissioners, and it appeared, as upon former occasions, that bodily strength had almost fled from his aged frame. His outer dress was an old thread-bare gown of Bristol frieze, confined about the hips by a leathern girdle, of a penny's

price; a nightcap, rendered warmer by the addition of a handkerchief; and over that, an ordinary townsman's cap, with flaps buttoned under the chin. To his girdle was fastened a Testament by a long string of leather; from his neck hung a pair of spectacles, without any case; and in his hand he held his hat. The same questions were put to him that had been already put to Bishop Ridley; and like answers being returned, he was also excommunicated.

Earnest endeavours were now used to wring recantations from the two prelates; chiefly by means of a learned friar, called over from Flanders, avowedly for the purpose of confirming Oxford in Popery. Latimer declined the fatigue of arguing with this foreign scholar. Ridley conversed with him, but he could not admit the soundness of his reasonings. He was, accordingly, formally degraded from the priesthood, and ordered for execution. He spent the last evening of his blameless life contented and cheerful. He paid some little attentions to his person; talked of the morrow as his wedding-day; and, at supper, invited his hostess to be present at his death. From her he had received, when first confined in her husband's house, many vexations; but his persevering goodness overcame at length all her prejudices against him, and his invitation now drew from her a flood of tears. "Oh, Mrs. Irish," said Ridley, "you love me not, I see well enough. For it appeareth, by your

weeping, that you will not be at my marriage; and that you are not content therewith. Indeed, you are not so much my friend as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself. Though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful, yet I doubt not my supper shall be sweet and pleasant." On retiring for the night, his brother-in-law offered to watch by the side of his bed. But Ridley declined this kind attention, expressing himself assured of passing the night in peaceful and refreshing sleep.

On the following morning he dressed himself handsomely in a black gown; a velvet tippet, ornamented with fur; a cap of black velvet upon his head; and over it the square cap usually worn by clergymen. Passing the gaol in his way to the place of suffering, he raised his eyes to its gloomy windows, in the hope of a farewell look from his loved associate, Cranmer. But the Archbishop was then deeply busied in argument with the foreign friar, who had laboured to shake the faith of Ridley. Nor did he know of the mournful procession until it had passed his prison. He then ascended to the roof of the building, fell upon his knees, and earnestly besought strength from on high for his suffering friends, under their mortal agony. While walking onwards, Ridley heard a noise behind him; and looking back, his eyes rested on the venerable form of Latimer. "Oh, be ye there?" he asked. "Yea," said the good old man, "I am after you as fast as I can follow."

Having reached the mass of fuel prepared for burning him, Ridley raised his hands, and turned his eyes with earnest gaze towards heaven. His fellow-sufferer soon arrived, when he ran to him, embraced him tenderly, with a cheerful countenance, and thus addressed him: "Be of good heart, brother; for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." The two martyrs then walked towards the stake, kissed it, knelt for a while in prayer, and afterwards conversed together. They and their opinions were now attacked in a sermon, delivered by a divine who had changed sides so often, that he seemed willing to profess any thing, if it were only likely to please the party in power. Among his hearers none listened more attentively than the two victims. Their eyes often shot expressive glances, and their uplifted hands bore witness, at intervals, how keenly they felt the folly, the falsehood, and the cruelty of this parting insult. Ridley would fain have answered the slanderous preacher; but he was told that he must be silent, unless he meant to recant: in that case, he might freely speak his mind, and, besides, receive the Queen's pardon, which was ready for his acceptance. "So long as the breath is in my body," he replied, "I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth. God's will be done in me."

Orders were now given, that the prisoners should make themselves ready for death. Ridley imme-

diately stripped off his outer garments, and took from his pockets various little articles. These, together with some of his apparel, he gave away among his acquaintances around. On the face of every one thus honoured by a parting token of the martyr's friendship, appeared a momentary gleam of pleasure. Latimer gave nothing; but he quietly allowed his worn-out clothing to be removed. A new shroud was now seen to enfold his aged frame; and he stood upright, thus clad in the weeds of death, to a degree long unusual with him. Before he was fastened to the stake, Ridley uttered the following address to God:—"O heavenly Father, I give thee hearty thanks, that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, O Lord God, to take mercy upon this realm of England, and to deliver the same from all her enemies." To the smith employed in securing the chain which encompassed the bodies of himself and his ancient friend, he said, "Good fellow, knock in the staple hard, for the flesh will have its course." A lighted faggot being thrown soon after at his feet, drew these words from Latimer: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man: we shall this day, by God's grace, light in England such a candle, as, I trust, shall never be extinguished." Bags of gunpowder had been kindly fastened about the bodies of the victims by Ridley's brother-in-law; and in Latimer's case, this provision for aiding the soul in her struggles to get free,

seems to have taken full effect. When the flame approached, the venerated preacher was observed to spread his arms, as if embracing the fiery visitor: and having loudly cried, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul," he was thought to have found a speedy deliverance from the pangs of death. Ridley's agonies were dreadful. At first, he stood in momentary expectation of his end, repeating both in Latin, and in English, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit: Lord, receive my soul." At length, however, excruciating torments wrested from him anxious appeals to the humanity of all around. The bottom of the pile was furze, which burnt, on being kindled, with crackling fierceness. Above this were heaped, in ill-judged abundance, faggots of wood, upon which the flame below long failed to gain a hold. Hence the fire struggled for a vent beneath the victim's feet, while all his upper parts remain uninjured by its rage. His anguish thus becoming insupportable, piercing cries thrilled upon every bystander's ear: "Oh, for Christ's sake, let the fire come unto me." Scarcely master of himself on hearing this language of extreme distress, Ridley's brother-in-law ran to the pile, and heaped more faggots about the martyr. This unhappy mistake again kept down the flame, which was now beginning to mount upwards. The martyr's voice continued, accordingly, to sound from the clouds of smoke, under which his form was completely hidden, at

one time, "I cannot burn; oh, let the fire come into me:"—at another, "Lord, have mercy upon me." At length, a passage was opened for the flame, by clearing away the faggots. The sufferer now was seen once more, his lower limbs being wholly burnt, his trunk so little affected by the fire, that his shirt on one side had scarcely lost its colour. A vent, however, was no sooner opened on that side, than the blaze rushed fiercely through. The tortured martyr eagerly turned himself that way; the gunpowder immediately exploded; and he was observed to move no more. His frame supported for a while its position at the stake, and then fell amidst the heap of ashes in which, it had been marked, were to be sought the remains of Latimer.

Within a few days of this martyrdom, Bishop Gardiner was attacked by his last illness. He had appeared to great advantage on the meeting of Parliament, displaying all that force, and all that ability for which he had ever been remarkable. His efforts were, indeed, greatly needed; for the government had become so unpopular, that a violent spirit of opposition agitated the House of Commons. Gardiner's strength, however, wholly gave way under his exertions. On the third day after Parliament had opened, he was confined to his chamber, under a complication of disorders. He languished during about three weeks, amidst agonies of pain. But severe as were his bodily

sufferings, he seems to have been far more distressed by grief and horror of mind. Vainly did those who marked the conflict of his soul endeavor to allay its bitterness by the healing balm of religious consolation. When he sorrowfully dwelt upon the sinful character of his life, they exhorted him to reflect, that even St. Peter had grossly fallen, but was, notwithstanding, graciously received. "Alas!" replied the miserable prelate "I have, indeed, erred with Peter, but I have not like him, gone out and wept bitterly." As their sufferings were mainly attributed to Gardiner, the Protestants viewed his death as a seasonable relief. But their expectation was fatally deceived. Their old enemy had, indeed, gone to his awful account, but the fires of persecution continued to blaze as heretofore.

In February, 1556, Archbishop Cranmer was formally condemned. He had endeavoured, immediately after his appearance before Brookes, to lay some sound information as to his principles before the Queen. But Mary obstinately closed her ears against knowledge from such a hated source. She merely referred Cranmer's applications to Pole. The Cardinal wrote, in consequence, to Oxford, two tedious and insulting letters; in which, however, he rendered justice to his correspondent in one very remarkable particular. It has of late been the usage to paint Cranmer as a persecutor; and to represent, that however shameful might be

he conduct of his enemies towards him, he had the less reason to complain of it, because, while possessed of power, he had been equally cruel. Those, however, who lived in the Archbishop's time, appear, from one of Pole's letters to him, to have alleged his own kind and merciful exercise of authority, as an additional ground for condemning the severity of his persecutors. In his day of prosperity, said such reasoners, "the Archbishop caused no man's death, but treated all persons with kindness and good-nature." Against the truth of this testimony, so honourable to Cranmer's memory, Pole has nothing to allege. He merely strives to weaken its force by maintaining, that although the Archbishop had offered no violence to the bodies of men, yet by ruining their souls with false doctrine, he had done much worse. Cranmer's degradation from holy orders took place in the choir of Christ Church, before the Bishops Boner and Thirlby, the former of whom acted with the most unmanly rudeness and cruelty. The prisoner conducted himself with great firmness and propriety. He presented, however, a formal appeal from the papal sentence to the next free general council, he remarked also upon the gross falsity of a clause in the authority for degrading him, which recited that he had wilfully neglected to defend himself at Rome, and he rebutted some of the assertions levelled by Boner against him.

Great anxiety now prevailed among the leaders •

of the Romish party to cajole Cranmer into a denial of his principles. His prison, accordingly, was visited by persons of consideration in the University, and the Dean of Christ Church invited him to his house. Having accepted this invitation, the deprived Archbishop was treated with a degree of kindness to which he had long been a stranger. At one time, his mind was relaxed by cheerful conversation, at another, his spirits were refreshed by innocent amusement. Amidst these artful devices for throwing him off his guard, remarks were occasionally made upon that horrid end by fire to which he was doomed. The Queen, he was told, felt extremely desirous of saving him from such a fate, wishing either to restore his preferment, or to provide for him in retirement. But then it was added, "her Majesty will have Cranmer a Catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." These representations were strengthened by appeals to the inbred weakness of human nature. The Archbishop was reminded, that his age, though advanced, was by no means extreme, that his constitution was not materially impaired, and that he might reasonably reckon upon several years of usefulness and happiness. Under these arts, Cranmer's resolution, at length, gave way, and he made, dissemblingly, some concession in favour of the Roman Church. The precise extent of this lamentable weakness cannot be ascertained. Six papers, according to Romish accounts, were signed

by the Archbishop. But of these one only amounts to a full recantation, and to this, there is good reason for believing, Cranmer's name was never affixed in his own hand-writing. The only one of the six papers, indeed, which the unhappy prisoner seems really to have signed, is a short form, capable, undoubtedly, of receiving a Romish colouring, but containing, in fact, nothing to which a well-informed Protestant could object. There is, however, a great probability, that Cranmer wrote out all these papers, and affected a willingness to consider them: a miserable infirmity to which he was betrayed by the love of life, so artfully awakened in his breast. His actual signature to that paper, which alone can be considered as a complete recantation, is unlikely, from this circumstance; that it was no sooner printed, than an order of council was issued for destroying all the copies of it! This order may not unreasonably be accounted for, upon a supposition, that, although it had been found impossible to persuade the Archbishop into signing this full recantation, yet there were hopes of his signing another less complete; which hopes were likely to be deceived, if his signature to the former one were falsely handed about in print. As an additional reason for entertaining this opinion, it must be observed, that the paper drawn up for the Archbishop's signature, after this full recantation, is more properly a string of self-accusations, than a disavowal of any particular

opinions. It is, therefore, most likely, that Cardinal Pole, who seems to have drawn up the paper, thus framed it, because it had been found impossible to wring from the harassed prisoner any clear approval of the doctrinal form lately submitted to him. It is, at all events, known, that his tempters were not satisfied. A statement, which they published immediately after his death, makes him indeed, to have signed all the papers hitherto & urgently pressed upon him. A seventh, however, was prepared, and to this also he was intreated to set his hand. Orders had now been secretly given for burning him: a pretty plain proof that his artful tempters had never yet succeeded satisfactorily in their crafty purpose. The government, probably, had become fully convinced that although his awakened love of life might long plunge him in the degrading weakness of affecting a favourable attention to Romish arguments, yet, notwithstanding, his integrity would ever hold him back from plainly giving up his Protestant principles. A writ, accordingly, was sent down to Oxford for committing him to the flames as an obstinate heretic. It was, however, determined to keep from him the knowledge of his fate until the last moment, in the hope, that, when actually brought forward to suffer, he might appear before men as a degraded apostate from the faith which he had so long and earnestly laboured to establish in England. Unhappily Cranmer, when exposed to this seventh

temptation, again shewed an inclination to yield. He complied so far with the persuasions by which he was plied incessantly, that he wrote out two copies of this new recantation. It is not, however, even pretended that he could be brought to sign them.

With one of these papers in his possession, and with a written prayer and exhortation, which he had prepared in expectation of the worst, secreted in his bosom, the Archbishop was led from his prison between two friars. They walked towards St. Mary's, and having reached the door of that church, the friars began the hymn of Simeon, *Lord lettest thou thy servant depart in peace.* Cranmer was then led to a raised platform facing the pulpit; where he presented an appearance which affected all the large congregation with feelings of mingled pity and admiration. His apparel was of the meanest description, but a long white beard rendered his aspect highly venerable, and on his countenance was plainly marked an expression of the deepest sorrow. Having fallen upon his knees, he continued for some minutes engaged in inward prayer; a plentiful flood of tears all the while pouring down his cheeks. There were very few of those around whose hearts melted not at this moving sight. One minute their eye rested upon his grief-worn figure, in the next, it was turned away to weep. A sermon was now delivered, in which it was plainly declared, that the prisoner was about to suffer. Upon his opinions the preacher

commented severely, and also upon several of his acts, but he mixed up these harsh remarks with many compliments, and he promised, that, after his death, masses should be said for the repose of his soul. A principal intent of this discourse was plainly to keep the sufferer from withholding the recantation which he had brought into the church. His enemies were not aware that he had contrived to come prepared with matter of a different kind, and they, probably, reckoned, that when overcome by a sudden summons to the stake, he would find himself unable to address the people as he might wish.

Cranmer, however, completely disappointed all such expectations. Having obtained leave to speak, he first read the prayer which he had brought with him. He then repeated the Lord's prayer: all the congregation following his example, apparently with great devotion. He then arose, and delivered his exhortation. In this, he warned his hearers against an excessive love of the world, he admonished them to be loyal to their sovereign, neighbourly to each other, and liberal to the poor. Afterwards he said the Creed, affirming, that such was his faith. This ended, he solemnly renounced all the papers which had lately passed under his hand, as being contrary to that which he thought in his heart, as containing many things untrue, and as having been merely wrested from his weakness, under the fear of death. In writing these things,

his hand, he said, had committed a grievous offence, and should, accordingly, first be burnt. "As for the Pope," he concluded, "I refuse him as Christ's enemy, and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

These words were no sooner uttered, than murmurs arose on every side. The martyr was reminded of his recantation, and reproached as a dissembler. He maintained, in reply, that his whole life had been ordered by the strictest love of truth, until the very time of his late unhappy departure from it. As the lengthening of this altercation would plainly have only added to the mortification of the Romish party, Cranmer was hastily removed from the platform, and led to the spot near Balliol-college, already consecrated by the martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley. In his way thither he was assailed unceasingly by the persuasions and upbraidings of those who longed to see him die in the profession of Popery. But nothing now could ruffle or disquiet him. He had undergone the deserved humiliation of avowing his late endeavours to deceive, in the hope of saving his life, and by a public profession of his real opinions he had taken care that this unhappy weakness should not hurt the Protestant cause. Of the settled grief, accordingly, which marked his features in St. Mary's church, there was no appearance when he reached the stake. He looked there like one who, having gone through a fearful trial, is now about to take possession of a noble inheritance. His eyes wan-

dered cheerfully and kindly all around, and he good-naturedly shook several persons by the hand. Having put off his outer clothing, the shirt was seen to reach his feet, now bare, and the removal of his cap exhibited a head completely bald. His long white beard, however, flowing majestically downwards, lent a dignity to his whole figure which powerfully struck every beholder. Fire being added to the pile, his eye no sooner caught the rising flame, than he stretched his right hand over it, loudly saying, "This hand hath offended." Nor, unless once for a moment, when he used that hand to wipe his face, did he withdraw it from the fire: no small exertion of self-command, inasmuch as it was manifestly burning while the other parts of his frame continued in a great measure unhurt. His left hand was immoveably directed upwards, as if pointing to an everlasting home in heaven. Cranmer's firmness, indeed, in his mortal agony, was fully worthy of him. His eyes were sometimes raised to heaven, and then he cried, "Lord Jesus receive my spirit." At other times, looking towards his fast-consuming hand, he mournfully said, "Oh, this unworthy hand!" But his body generally was motionless as the stake that held it, and seemingly no more sensible of pain. Happily his sufferings were but of short continuance, a furious fire soon arising, and setting his invigorated spirit free. This martyrdom took place on the 21st of March, 1556; Cranmer then being in the sixty-

seventh year of his age. He was one of the most able, industrious, learned, and virtuous men ever born in England. But his concern in the Reformation has naturally given deadly offence to the Romanists, and they have never ceased, accordingly, to blacken his memory. Their endeavours in this way have taken the greater effect, because Englishmen generally have looked upon the Archbishop as having been over-anxious to please King Henry, and because he lost himself so grievously under the Romish temptation which harassed the last days of his life. His conduct, however, in the former case, appears to have been somewhat hastily condemned. As to the latter case, he seems to have dissembled, rather than recanted, and sufficient allowances have not usually been made for the artful contrivances by which his flesh was led to betray him into this discreditable weakness.

Most of the principal English Protestants had now either perished at home by fire, or had been driven to seek refuge abroad. The country, however, abounded in humbler professors of a scriptural faith, and with these, the cruel government waged unceasing war. Scarcely was a week allowed to glide away in which pious Christians were not burnt alive, upon no other account than because they chose to believe their Bibles rather than the traditions of Popery. The horror of these atrocious barbarities was increased, in many cases, by the sacrificing of several martyrs upon one pile. To

Bow, near London, proceeded from Newgate, on the 27th of June, 1556, three carts laden with eleven men and two women. On reaching the journey's end, the prisoners were divided into *two* companies, and kept for a while apart, for the purpose of persuading them, as it seems, into a recantation. One of the parties was then told that those who made up the other had agreed to forsake their principles, and that their lives would, therefore, be spared. "We build not our faith upon man, but upon Christ crucified," was the noble answer returned to this false assurance. A like device was tried upon the other party, and it met with a like reproof. The thirteen willing victims were then led to the scene of their fiery triumph, where, amidst an immense heap of fuel, four stakes reared their heads. Around these the men were distributed and chained. The two women braved the flames without the confinement of a chain. It was reckoned that nearly twenty thousand persons gazed upon this execution, so glorious to the sufferers, so disgraceful to the government. Of this enormous concourse, a very large proportion, undoubtedly, left the fatal field, execrating the ruling powers, venerating the martyrs, glorying in their constancy, and respecting sincerely the principles which had led them to such an honourable end. This was the general effect of Mary's atrocious intolerance; the young especially, returning to their homes filled with admiration of the victims, and with abhorrence

f their persecutors. Such an effect of their gloomy tyranny escaped not the notice of these unfeeling bigots, who now so shamefully abused the power entrusted to them. Orders, accordingly, were sent down from court to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, that they should take care to apprehend, when any were burnt, all who should comfort, aid, or praise the sufferers. Vainly, however, were such orders issued. The crowds that flocked to these mournful sights, poured into the martyrs' ears from every side, commendations, prayers, and blessings. The ever-blazing fires of persecution, indeed, instead of frightening people into Popery, served mainly to root them more firmly than ever in the religion of holy Scripture. There were even persons, zealous for the traditions of Rome, when first the martyrs protested against them at the stake, who perished themselves amidst the flames, before Mary died. Happily they had learnt, at length, to deny such articles of faith as cannot be traced to God, inasmuch as they are not to be proved from his written Word.

But all such lessons were lost upon Mary's besotted and hard-hearted advisers. So long, accordingly, as she swayed the sceptre, the atrocious persecution raged: five martyrs being burnt at Canterbury within a week of her death. Altogether, not fewer than two hundred and eighty-eight victims appear to have perished at the stake during the time in which the country was aban-

doned to her unrelenting fanaticism : a period short of four years. At length the Queen became miserable within herself. Among her subjects she was highly unpopular. Her husband, of whom she was dotingly fond, neglected her. In the beginning of 1558, Calais, long a possession of England, was taken unexpectedly by France. This was looked upon as a great national disgrace, which it was generally thought the country would have escaped had not its affairs been grossly misconducted. Mary herself constantly mourned over the loss of Calais, and thus increased the depression of her spirits. While labouring under these uneasinesses, and weakened, besides, by a dropsical habit of long standing, she was attacked by a fever, then extremely prevalent and fatal. From this she never thoroughly recovered, but after lingering during several weeks, she sank under the violence of her maladies. Her death took place at St. James's, early in the morning of the 17th of November, 1558: she having then attained the age of forty-three years and nine months, and having reigned five years and four months.

Queen Mary was thin and low of stature. Her mouth was large, and although she was short-sighted, her eyes were lively. Her warmest admirers forebore to claim for her the praise of beauty, but they attributed this deficiency to ill usage undergone in her youth. Before her troubles, they said, she had been handsome. Her

understanding being good, and having been well cultivated, she was pretty thoroughly mistress of Latin, and able to converse in both French and Spanish. Nor was she ignorant of Italian. Her father's love for music was a security against any neglect of her education in that point. She was, accordingly, a very respectable performer both upon the harpsichord and guitar. In religious observances she was most exact, and her life was unstained by immorality. She shewed a very commendable degree of feeling for the poor around her country residences ; often visiting their abodes dressed as a private gentlewoman, and enquiring their wants in order to relieve them. In the despatch of public affairs, she was, as in every thing else, perfectly methodical. Any time that she found upon her hands after having attended to the calls of devotion and business, she spent ordinarily in needlework ; furniture for the altar, or other things connected with religious worship being the general objects of her manual industry. Mary's habits, in fact, were those of a professed and sincere devotee. Hence, as an abbess, she would have been admirable. But she was far too narrow-minded for the government of a kingdom, especially at the time, and under the circumstances in which she mounted the throne.

Within twenty-two hours of the Queen's death, her friend and kinsman, Cardinal Pole, expired at Lambeth. This remarkable person was of mode-

rate stature, and slender make. His complexion was fair, the colour of his cheeks fresh, and an expression of good nature beamed from his eyes. Had he lived at an ordinary time, or had he been born of humbler parentage, Pole would, probably, have passed through the world generally respected. But during his days all Europe was in commotion, and his royal birth, being united with no contemptible morals and attainments, called him into very difficult situations. For filling these creditably, Pole had neither the talents, nor the judgment, nor the requisite command over his temper. Since Cranmer's death he had been Archbishop of Canterbury, and he contrived to render odious his acceptance of that dignity, by taking possession of it, in great pomp, on the very day after his predecessor's martyrdom.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Queen Elizabeth—Her religious policy—Movements of the two parties—The Pope's conduct—The Queen's caution—Her first Parliament—The royal supremacy—Restoration of the English Liturgy—Deprivations of Romish ecclesiastics—Parker—The deprived prelates—The Thirty-nine Articles—Conclusion.

QUEEN Mary's death was not publicly known until some hours after it had happened. Information of it first got abroad by means of a communication to the House of Lords made by Heath, Archbishop of York, who had been Lord Chancellor since Gardiner's decease. The peers immediately acknowledged the Lady Elizabeth as their lawful sovereign. The Commons were then sent for, and they did the same. Elizabeth, accordingly, was proclaimed Queen without farther delay, first, before the door of Westminster-hall, and afterwards, at Cheapside-cross, amidst a deafening burst of popular exultation. The new Queen was then residing at Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, and thither a deputation of the privy council proceeded with intelligence of her accession. She staid at Hatfield until the 23d of the month, when she removed, attended by a gay and joyous escort of more than

a thousand persons, to London. At Highgate, all the surviving prelates met her, and she received them, Boner alone excepted, with graceful and obliging courtesy. To the blood-stained Bishop of London she judiciously refused the honour of kissing her hand. Apartments had been prepared for her reception at the Charter-house, then occupied, as a town-residence, by the Lord North; and there she staid until the 28th, when she went, in grand procession, to the Tower. Nothing could exceed the popular joy during the first days of her reign. *Te Deum* was chanted in the London churches on the Sunday which immediately followed her accession, as if the country had just escaped from some remarkable calamity. Nor, indeed, did people generally view this change in the national affairs, without encouraging a confident expectation that the miseries and disgraces of recent years would now give way to happier times.

Elizabeth had no sooner taken possession of the throne, than much anxiety was felt as to her religious policy. Birth and education marked her for a Protestant; but during the greater part of Mary's reign, she had conformed to the Romish worship; having been overcome, we are told, by the persuasions and threats of Cardinal Pole. Such conformity was undoubtedly necessary for her safety, and it was generally thought that the Princess had consented to it solely upon that account. Her continuance in the papal religion, now that she had an

opportunity of leaving it, was, however, rendered not altogether unlikely from the influence of her brother-in-law. That Prince had constantly protected her during the late reign. Elizabeth was then highly popular throughout the country, and every political firebrand made abundant use of her name. Hence Mary's early dislike to her continually became more exasperated, and she needed for her protection both an unusual share of personal discretion, and the interference of some powerful friend. In the quality first named she was never found deficient; nor happily did Philip allow her to want a sufficient protector. It may be hoped that he really felt for the helpless situation of a young female, who could scarcely reckon upon security without his aid. Certainly political considerations recommended Elizabeth to his watchful care; especially as soon as he lost all hope of issue from his own wife. If the younger sister were removed, the Queen of Scots, immediately upon Mary's death, would have transferred the English sceptre to the royal family of France, ever the principal obstacle to Austrian ambition. Philip was, therefore, bound as a mere politician to provide for the safety of Elizabeth. Of this policy he never lost sight, and accordingly, the new Queen ascended the throne under great personal obligations to her brother-in-law. It had been proposed, while Mary reigned, to marry her abroad, and even to shut her up in a Spanish convent. But her

Austrian friend would neither allow her inclination to be forced, nor hear of any despotic expedient for depriving her of liberty. Philip lost no time in endeavouring to confirm Elizabeth's regard for him by friendly messages; which soon were followed by an offer of his hand. The Queen hesitated to return an immediate refusal to this flattering proposal, and the Spanish prince, accordingly, plied her with letters and importunities, thus keeping alive in her breast not only his own interest, but also that of the Romish religion.

There were, however, plain indications from the first, of Elizabeth's intention to profess again the faith in which she had been reared. One of her earliest cares was necessarily the choice of a council, and in this was manifested her disposition to depart from Mary's ecclesiastical policy. Thirteen of that Queen's councillors were, indeed, retained; all of whom might be considered as staunch Romanists. But with them were associated seven new councillors, every one of whom was notoriously friendly to the Reformation. Among these too was William Cecil, already known as a statesman of uncommon abilities, and afterwards, under the title of Lord Burghley, long and justly famed as one of the wisest ministers ever employed in England, or in any other country. That eminent person had been a secret adviser of Elizabeth during her late season of adversity, and it was, therefore, hardly doubtful that he possessed such a degree of

influence over her mind as would soon give him the lead among his brother councillors. Cecil, however, though, like his mistress, an outward conformist under Mary, was believed to have acted thus merely for the sake of his own safety.

A general expectation, accordingly, soon prevailed, that England would no longer bow to Rome. Fully reckoning upon this change in the national councils, a magistrate in Suffolk stopped the persecution which harassed his neighbourhood, even before Elizabeth had left the Charter-house. A letter of approval was immediately forwarded to this humane gentleman, and he was desired to concert measures with other justices of the peace around him, for putting an instant stop to all processes against persons charged with heresy in his part of the country. Within a few days after this merciful communication had been sent down from the court, various prisoners, confined in London as offenders against religion, were discharged upon their own recognizances. Like deliverances in different parts of the country soon followed; and thus the cessation of her sister's inhuman persecution was one of the first acts of Elizabeth's domestic policy.

Such a change of measures, however creditable to the royal feelings and sagacity, could not fail of alarming and offending the more headlong and ill-natured admirers of the late Queen's administration. Her funeral gave occasion to the first conspicuous

display of angry disappointment on the part of those who were deploring that their hour of fantastical revenge had passed away. White, Bishop of Winchester, then preached an inflammatory sermon calculated to rouse the worst feelings of the Romist party. For this offence he was very properly ordered to keep his house: a mild restraint, from which, after a reprimand, he was excused at the end of little more than a month. Fourteen days after White had thus abused the pulpit, a royal proclamation, issued according to precedents in the late reigns, forbade all preaching. This prohibition flowed from the conduct of both parties. There were Protestant clergymen who had remained at home, and exercised their ministry privately during the late reign. They now came forward, and preached openly against Popery once more. There were also daily arrivals from the continent of ecclesiastics who had fled thither from the late persecution, and they hastened to raise their voices against the religion which had driven them into exile, and deluged their native land with blood. On the other hand, Romish preachers were now straining every nerve in defence of their traditions. As Elizabeth's advisers were cautious and conciliatory, they thought it best to command silence on both sides. The proclamation also restrained clergymen from altering the established service, otherwise than by reading in English, the Epistle, Gospel, Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Litany. Obedience

was paid to these royal commands but imperfectly. The Romanists, however, appear to have been the principal transgressors. They naturally felt, indeed, apprehensive of some serious blow to their system; for the proclamation went no farther than to forbid alterations in religion until the Parliament should agree upon them. There were, accordingly, clergymen of Romish principles who not only persisted in preaching, but who likewise uttered treasonable and libellous matter in their sermons. From the mass of such unhappy zealots, a few were necessarily punished as a terror to others.

Among the announcements of her accession made to foreign powers, Elizabeth did not forget the Pope. Sir Edward Carne, English ambassador at Rome, received orders to notify formally at that court, the change which had taken place in the government of his country. The reigning pontiff, Paul IV., a very aged man, had given himself up to pride, ill-humour, selfishness, and political enmities. His especial abhorrence was the house of Austria, then in close alliance with England. In order to mortify that house, the King of France had caused his daughter-in-law, the Queen of Scots, immediately upon Mary's death, publicly to claim the English crown, as the nearest legitimate heir of Henry VII. Not contented with offering this insult to Elizabeth, the French monarch instructed his agents at Rome to press upon the Pope the propriety of acting in a similar manner. Any sug-

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Among the announcements of her accession made to foreign powers, Elizabeth did not forget the Pope. Sir Edward Carne, English ambassador at Rome, received orders to notify formally at that court, the change which had taken place in the government of his country. The reigning pontiff, Paul IV., a very aged man, had given himself up to pride, ill-humour, selfishness, and political enmities. His especial abhorrence was the house of Austria, then in close alliance with England. In order to mortify that house, the King of France had caused his daughter-in-law, the Queen of Scots, immediately upon Mary's death, publicly to claim the English crown, as the nearest legitimate heir of Henry VII. Not contented with offering this insult to Elizabeth, the French monarch instructed his agents at Rome to press upon the Pope the propriety of acting in a similar manner. Any sug-

gestions likely to mortify the pride, and cross the policy of Austria, were music in the ears of Paul. He readily, therefore, committed himself as the court of France desired. When Carne, accordingly, announced to him the accession of Elizabeth, and her determination that no man should suffer violence on account of his religion, the Pope replied, "I cannot approve this change in your government, made, as it is, without authority from the Apostolical see, in favour of one illegitimately born: nevertheless, if the cause be referred to me, I shall decide upon it in the most indulgent manner possible." This insolent and jesuitical answer was treated by the English ministry as it deserved. Carne had not received, together with his first instructions, any powers to act as ambassador from his new sovereign. An intimation was now forwarded to him from the council, that he had better return home. He chose, however, to remain in Rome, and there he died about two years afterwards.

On the 15th of January, 1559, the Queen was crowned at Westminster, by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, according to Romish usages. On the preceding day she had passed in great splendour, and amidst the heartiest popular greetings, from the Tower to her palace. In her way through Cheapside, an allegorical personage, acting a part in one of the pageants, performed in honour of the day, offered to her an English Bible, magnificently bound. Elizabeth received the volume with that

winning air of courtesy and good-nature which ever distinguished her public appearances ; saying at the same time, " I thank you heartily for your present : I shall often read this book." Nevertheless, being anxious to conciliate, if possible, both the religious parties which divided the nation, she would not hastily pledge herself to permit the circulation of Scripture, in English. On the morning after her coronation, one of the courtiers jocularly said : " As this is a time when your Grace is releasing prisoners, I hope that you will not forget Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, Paul, and some others, who have of late been straitly locked up within this realm." The Queen gravely replied ; " Before they are released, it will be better to enquire of themselves whether or no they would wish it."

Preparations for a new Parliament were made, according to the bad precedents of recent reigns, by ministerial interference with the rights of electors. By this means, and by the creation of five new peers attached to the Reformation, a party was secured in both Houses, disposed to conciliatory and constitutional courses in matters of religion. The Legislature met on the 25th of January, and it soon passed unanimously an act enabling the Queen to inherit from her mother, and her mother's family. This was, therefore, an indirect assertion of Elizabeth's legitimacy. There were those who thought that the Queen, imitating her

sister's example, ought to have obtained a repeal of all such enactments as threw a doubt upon her birth. But the course actually taken was that which best agreed with the temperate and cautious character of her counsels. By being pronounced inheritable from her unfortunate mother, according to common law, Elizabeth was, in effect, legally relieved from the stigma of a spurious origin. At the same time, by resting contented with such a measure of relief, she steered clear of affording any occasion for debates injurious to the memory of her father.

Early in the session, an attempt was made in the House of Commons to revive the acts passed under King Henry, for protecting the crown's ecclesiastical prerogatives from papal encroachments. After much debating, however, this motion was lost, both because the rights of England had been guarded in the acts under consideration by penalties needlessly severe, and because they pronounced the sovereign Supreme Head of the Church. Many people looked upon this title as asserting for its bearer something of a priestly character. Even the Queen herself thought it objectionable. A new bill was accordingly prepared, in which these defects were avoided, and this readily passed the Commons. In the Upper House, after some amendments, it was also favourably received: one temporal peer only voting against it. The bench of bishops, however, op-

posed it unanimously. The reasons alleged for this opposition appear, from two speeches yet remaining, to have been exceedingly weak, and even absurd. In fact, the House was very well aware, that this bill sought no new powers for the crown. It was merely a declaration of the ancient law of England. Hence it was very properly entitled, *An act restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical*. If any person doubted that the English monarchs had possessed from the earliest times such rights over the Church, no task was easier to the Queen's ministers, than the production of documents amply sufficient to remove this doubt. A series of canons, statutes, and other evidences, establishing the crown's ecclesiastical supremacy, descends uninterruptedly downwards from the Heptarchy to the Reformation. The Bishop of Rome never was entitled to any jurisdiction of any kind over England by the common or statute law of the land. The constitution knew nothing of him, except as an umpire who might be consulted in cases of difficulty, and whose decisions might be obeyed, or otherwise, as the national authorities should think proper. The reasons which originally caused foreigners to ask his opinion at any time, were merely the dignity necessarily belonging to his see when Christianity was first preached, and the superior competency of his advisers during the dark ages. Rome was the capital of Europe in the infancy of the Church ;

and after it had lost that distinction, *it contained* more divines and canonists of ability, than any other city of the West. Questions were, therefore, naturally submitted to the Roman bishop, as being the western prelate best qualified from his situation to answer them correctly. When, however, the Popes, under cover of prevailing ignorance, and by means of their devoted tools, the monastic orders, endeavoured to assert a claim of right over foreign countries, the governments of Europe failed not to resist the usurpation. In England, this resistance led eventually to an act of Parliament, which rendered individuals who used papal interference liable to the loss of all their goods, and to imprisonment during the King's pleasure. The Reformation, therefore, deprived the Pope of no privilege which the laws of England had not denied to him centuries before. The act of supremacy passed under Henry, and revived, with some alterations, under Elizabeth, merely imposed an oath upon persons taking office, or ecclesiastical preferment, that they would respect that ecclesiastical supremacy which the constitution vested in the crown. Before the Reformation, such a test, indeed, was not required. But if any man should act upon the prevailing habits of calling for the interference of Rome, he thereby rendered himself liable to the most ruinous penalties. It may be recollected, that the whole clergy of England bought off this liability, by the payment of a very

large sum of money, upon Wolsey's disgrace. It was obviously sound policy, and even also a necessary piece of justice, to prevent men from taking office, or preferment, who were constitutionally disqualified for it, and who were likely to be ruined, if they acted in it according to certain opinions which they might have been taught to consider as an important part of their religion. This politic and just end was attained by Henry and Elizabeth's acts of supremacy. Nor can it reasonably be supposed, that even the bishops would have unanimously resisted a bill so plainly reasonable, and notoriously constitutional, had they not felt their situation to be one of considerable difficulty. Most of them had sworn different ways as to the papal supremacy; greatly to the injury of their reputations: it being now said, that their decision as to this matter was utterly unworthy of notice. To this reflection, most probably, was their conduct owing, when Elizabeth's ministers asked from Parliament protection for the crown's ecclesiastical prerogatives. The prelates could not have failed to feel, that if they should forswear the Pope once more, they must go to their graves under the imputation of having lived indifferent to perjury, provided that their temporal interests were only safe.

Another important object sought by the ministry from this Parliament, was the restoration of a religious service which the people could understand, and which readers of Scripture could approve. It

was, however, thought expedient, that even this reasonable change should not be made, until after the fullest enquiry into the grounds of saying prayers in Latin. The leading Romanists were accordingly, desired to name certain scholars of their party as antagonists to the same number of Protestant scholars. These chosen divines were to dispute before Parliament, upon three questions on which the papal and reformed churches have come to different conclusions. The whole disputation was to be carried on in writing, and the propriety of using an unknown tongue in public worship was to furnish matter for the first day's debate. When that day arrived, the Romanists pretended, that, sufficient time not having been allowed them, they had been unable to prepare the written arguments expected of them. But they added, that one of their party would step forward, if it were desired, and make an extemporaneous defence of Latin prayers. This address filled the assembly with surprize and disgust. A desire was, however, expressed, for the hearing of these extemporaneous arguments. On this, the Dean of St. Paul's delivered, with great heat and vehemence, chiefly from written papers which he held in his hand, an intemperate and absurd speech in favour of Latin services. When he had finished, a pious, moderate, and learned discourse, was read on the opposite side of the question. A general murmur of applause was heard on the conclusion

f this able piece. Even a peer, decidedly Romish in his principles, admitted that the Protestants had gained an important advantage by such a masterly defence of their opinions. Greatly disconcerted on observing the impression thus made by their adversaries, the bishops now said, that they had much more to urge upon the morning's question. A future day, they were told, should be named for the further production of their arguments. Meanwhile the conference was to proceed as it had been originally arranged. The second day's meeting was, accordingly, appropriated to the second question. When the two parties, however, again came together, the Romanists refused to argue upon the subject appointed for the morning's discussion, and insisted upon reading an answer to the paper which the Protestants had read on the preceding day. As by suffering this irregularity, the managers would have thrown down all the prescribed arrangements, attempts were strenuously made to overcome this unexpected obstacle. But these were vain; the Romanists resolutely persisting in their demand to read an answer to the Protestant arguments, already brought forward, before they proceeded to debate any new question. The assembly broke up, accordingly, in displeasure. But it was not thought a sufficient punishment to the Romish party, that the conduct of its advocates had injured the credit of papal principles. The two Houses of Parliament, and the privy council, were

present at this conference. The refractory Romish disputants, were, therefore, considered as guilty of a contempt; and for this offence, two of the most active were committed to the Tower. Six others were heavily fined.

The conference having thus ended, parliamentary business was resumed; and after a considerable opposition in the House of Lords, an act was passed for restoring the English service. A committee of divines, and other competent persons, having carefully examined the matter, had already determined to recommend King Edward's second service-book, with a few alterations. That book thus amended, was now sanctioned by Parliament its introduction into the churches being fixed for the feast of St. John the Baptist next ensuing. It differed very little from the Common Prayer, yet used by the Church of England. Such is the manifest excellence of this service, that for ten years even those who clung to Romish prejudices did not refuse to join in it. The reigning Pope, at the end of that time, issued an infamous bull by which he pretended to excommunicate and dethrone the Queen. Then such Englishmen as yet retained a lingering love for Popery, and such as desired to feed political discontent, immediately forsook their parish-churches, and formed themselves into a sect closely connected with Rome.

Besides relieving the country from the intolerable evils of a service which only a few could under-

stand, this Parliament also repealed the statutes against Lollardy, so corruptly revived under Queen Mary. Englishmen were, therefore, henceforth allowed to disbelieve such articles of faith as they could not find in their Bibles, without incurring the danger of being burnt alive. A royal visitation was likewise undertaken: certain commissioners being employed by the crown to travel over the kingdom for the purposes of rooting out idolatry and superstition, and of dispensing sound religious knowledge. While the visitors were thus engaged, the clergy generally were required to acknowledge upon oath the royal supremacy. About one hundred parish priests refused, and were, in consequence, deprived of their livings. Much the same number of dignitaries also lost their preferments upon this account. Of the bishops, all refused the oath, excepting Kitchen, of Llandaff, a prelate raised to the bench under King Henry, who had complied with every change. All the rest were necessarily dismissed from their sees.

These deprivations, and some deaths which occurred about the close of Queen Mary's reign, placed all the principal ecclesiastical preferments at the crown's disposal. It being essential to the public welfare, that offices of so much importance should be duly filled, this object early engaged Elizabeth's attention. For the see of Canterbury, vacant by Cardinal Pole's death, she had already decided upon Dr. Matthew Parker. This eminent

divine was born at Norwich, in 1504, of parents descended from gentlemen's families; but his father was a wealthy manufacturer. Being a student at Cambridge at the time when Latimer, and other eminent men, were intent upon exposing the traditions of Popery, Parker also began to doubt the soundness of that hollow system. He did not, however, forsake the creed of his early years, until after a very long and laborious course of theological enquiry. At length he became fully satisfied that Romish principles can be traced to no sufficient authority, and henceforth he zealously strove to spread the knowledge of such a faith, as will bear to be confronted in all its parts with Scripture, and with the records of the primitive Church. This enlightened conduct recommended him to the patronage of Archbishop Cranmer, and of Anne Boleyn. Under Henry he obtained various preferments; and under Edward he was advanced to the deanery of Lincoln. Being a married man, and a Protestant, in the late reign he was deprived of all that he held; and he was moreover obliged to provide for his personal safety by keeping himself concealed. Upon one occasion, during that miserable period, a hasty flight, under cover of darkness, was necessary to his preservation. That anxious night left an ineffaceable mark upon his frame; a severe injury, then received by means of a fall from his horse, proving incapable of a thorough cure. Elizabeth had no sooner ascended

the throne, than she summoned Parker to court. His obedience was unwilling and slow, for he suspected that some high post was intended for him, and he desired no more than the means of spending a scholar's life in comfort and respectability. He was, indeed, by nature, extremely shy; his pleasures had ever been chiefly sought among books; and his feeling of unfitness for a public station was now much increased by the hurt under which he laboured. He was, therefore, anxious to pass through the world away from the busier haunts of men. But his learning, judgment, and virtue were well known in his sovereign's cabinet. Such a man was urgently needed, and he felt himself obliged to appear in the royal presence, not for the purpose of receiving some respectable appointment in the University, which was what he desired, but as the Archbishop of Canterbury elect. To this important see he was duly consecrated in the Chapel at Lambeth, on the 17th of December, 1559. Within a few days, afterwards, he consecrated, with proper assistants, some eminent Protestant divines to fill other vacant sees. Among the individuals thus advanced was Dr. Cox, King Edward's tutor, who had fled to the continent during the late persecution, and who was now preferred to the bishopric of Ely. More consecrations quickly followed, and thus the bench of bishops was happily soon occupied by able and upright men, zealous in the sacred cause of sound religion.

It cannot be doubted that all these arrangements were watched by the deprived prelates with feelings of deep mortification. The number of parish-priests who had refused the oath of supremacy was so very small, and the vacant preferments of importance were filled with so much judgment and expedition, that the opposition of the Romish dignitaries occasioned little or no confusion in the country. As if disappointed on finding themselves thus unimportant, five of the deprived *prelates*, about a fortnight before Archbishop Parker's consecration, presented an angry address to the Queen. A reproofing answer was returned to them, in which they were reminded of their own support of the royal supremacy under King Henry. This admonition, however, failed of its object. Some of the Romish prelates now mounted the pulpit, and endeavoured to inflame the people by attacks upon the government and the Reformation. Such conduct being likely to endanger the public peace, the principal offenders were taken into custody, and it seems that several deprived Romish clergymen of note were thus prevented from doing farther mischief. During the spring of 1560, Boner was placed in the Marshalsea, never more to be at liberty. Of this, perhaps, he had no great reason to complain; for the popular abhorrence with which he was justly viewed, rather gained strength by time; the particulars of his atrocities becoming daily better known, and the Romish bigotry, which

once had found some sort of excuse for them, losing ground very fast. If at large, therefore, it is far from unlikely that he might have been sacrificed in some burst of public execration. In his prison, however, he was allowed every domestic comfort, and he lived there nine years, freely enjoying his accustomed pleasures of the table. Of the other deprived dignitaries, arrested about this time, none appear to have been long detained within the walls of a prison. Heath, lately Archbishop of York, was soon allowed to fix his residence upon a handsome estate which he had bought at Cobham, in Surrey. He there passed the evening of his days in a style of great respectability, and occasionally he had even the honour of entertaining the Queen. Two others of the displaced bishops likewise, retired to houses of their own. Three went abroad. Thirlby, lately Bishop of Ely, resided for several years under the hospitable roof of Archbishop Parker. Another of these prelates lived and died a guest of the Dean of Exeter. Watson, who now lost the see of Lincoln, lived in the houses of two bishops successively; but his morose, unquiet disposition, effectually destroyed both his own happiness, and the confidence of the government in the peaceableness of his intentions. Hence it was, at length, found necessary to take away his liberty entirely, and he ended his days a prisoner in Wisbeach-castle. Others of Queen Mary's bishops died very shortly after deprivation.

The Protestant divines, now raised to the bench of bishops, must soon have felt the need of an authorised exposition of their principles. This deficiency was remedied by the Convocation which met in January, 1563. Elizabeth's object in the settling of the Church had ever been, not the introduction of any new system, but merely the revival, with proper alterations, of that system which had been established under her brother, and which, since his death, had been sealed by the blood of so many holy martyrs. Accordingly, King Edward's forty-two articles were now carefully considered. This revision ended in the retrenchment of such matter as appeared less necessary, the insertion of some new matter, and the reduction of the whole formulary into more clear and scriptural language. Thirty-nine was the number of the articles in this amended form, and they received an unanimous assent from the Convocation on the 31st of January, being its ninth session. To this body of doctrine the national clergy of England are yet required to profess their solemn adherence. Besides rendering this important service to the Church, the Convocation authorised the second book of Homilies.

The fundamental point in which the religion, thus happily settled in England, differs from the Church of Rome, is the rejection of unwritten tradition as a rule of faith. Romanists maintain, that the inspired writers of the New Testament taught doctrines which they have omitted to record, and

they consider themselves able to prove from ancient authors, and the decrees of councils, that such doctrines have ever been professed by the Church. Protestants argue, in opposition to this, that there is no reason whatever for suspecting the inspired writers of having omitted to record any article of the Christian faith; and they deny that the fathers, or earliest Christian uninspired writers, will furnish any proofs of the doctrines exclusively taught by papal divines. They remark too, that the first council which affirmed any of these doctrines, did not sit until near the close of the eighth century, and that it sat then under very suspicious circumstances. Hence Protestants reject all such Romish articles of faith as depend for their support upon unwritten tradition. Of these, the most important, are the Pope's divine right to govern the whole Church; transubstantiation; the power of priests to offer an atonement for sin, by receiving the Sacrament; the propriety of calling upon departed spirits, called saints, as mediators with God; the lawfulness of paying religious honours to images, consecrated bread, and the like; the existence of a place called purgatory, in which human souls are punished for a time; the Pope's authority to shorten the detention of souls in this place; and the power of Romish priests to remit sins, in cases where the heart is not truly contrite.

That their forefathers acted wisely in rejecting principles of such powerful efficacy, yet supported

upon grounds thus unsatisfactory, Englishmen have long generally acknowledged. Their country seems, indeed, to have reaped even great temporal benefits from her adoption of a scriptural faith. Ever since Elizabeth's accession, England has made a constant progress in all that gives dignity to men and power to nations. Of such happiness, Protestantism appears to be a leading cause: as those European communities which have embraced the Reformation are far more intelligent, flourishing, and free, than those which yet adhere to Rome. The Protestant religion has, in truth, an obvious tendency to nurture manly sense and sound morality. Its doctrines are all unquestionable, its usages are all simple and rational, its offers of mercy are all made through genuine contrition alone, its policy is to throw open, unreservedly, the sources of religious information.

THE END.

